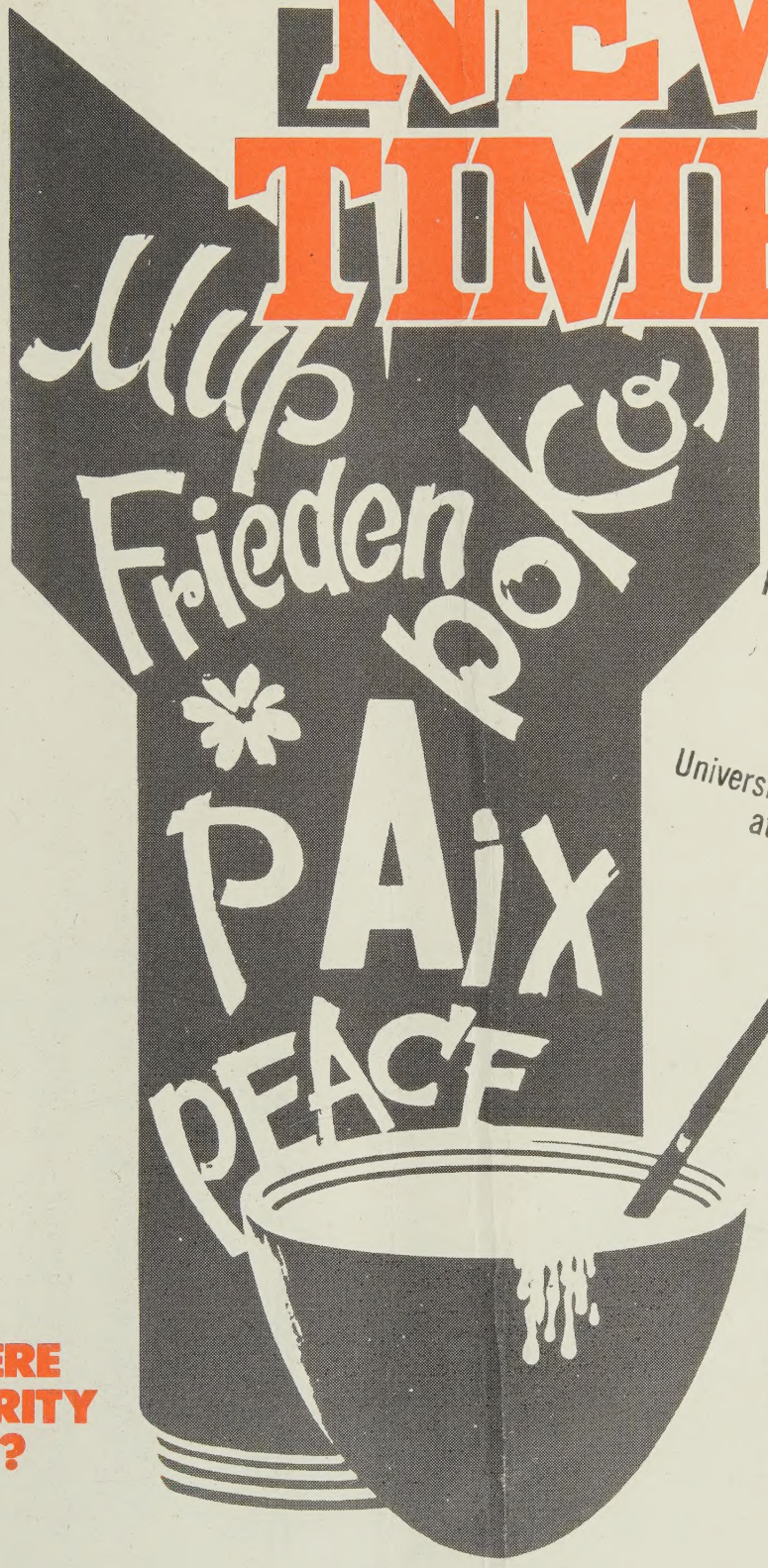
A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

The Aldo Moro case.
THE CIA CONNECTION

NEW TIMES



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CAN THERE BE SECURITY FOR ALL?
NEW TIMES round table

KOREA: A DIVIDED PENINSULA

STORM OVER FIJI

1917–1987

TIME AND PEOPLE

The early 1930s were marked by a nationwide drive to abolish illiteracy. Factories, towns, regions vied with one another for the distinction of being 100 per cent literate. The achievement of this target was celebrated as a festive occasion. By literacy was meant not only the ability to read and write but also the ability to work efficiently. Tens of thousands of people joined in a "know your machine!" movement. A mass countrywide organization for the mastery of production techniques sprang up.

Today these slogans and movements of the 1930s may seem extremely naive and well-nigh incredible. But in those years this was without exaggeration a matter of life and death for the young Land of Soviets.

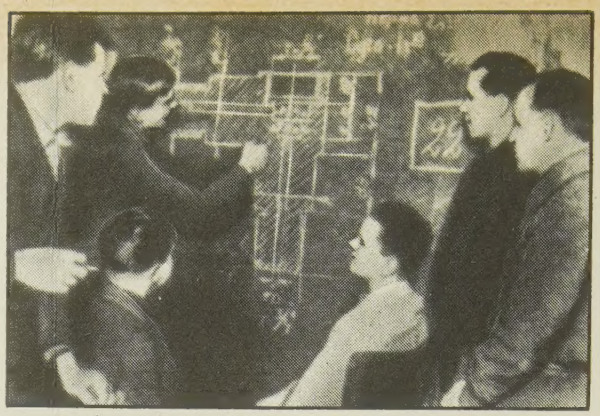
The first passenger cars put out by the Moscow Auto Plant.

The construction projects of the first five-year plans drew into the vortex of industrialization hundreds of thousands of peasants and urban youth who had practically no professional training. Some were even unable to read.

Built in record time, the first five-year-plan projects which staggered the imagination of their contemporaries were the product of unprecedented labour enthusiasm. As a rule, those who built the new enterprises became their first workers. But it soon became apparent that enthusiasm alone was not enough. In unskilled hands valuable equipment was used inefficiently and breakdowns were frequent. In the iron and steel industry, for instance, rolling mills stood idle for up to one quarter of working time. The lack of knowledge and skills became an acute problem. Once again the Land of Soviets came face to face with the age-old backwardness of the country.

Millions of workers began studying. Academician Ivan Bardin, who worked at the Kuznetsk Iron and Steel Works at that time, later recalled: "A veritable storming of the citadels of knowledge began. People studied eagerly, for each day brought home to them the value of what they learned. For tens of thousands knowledge was a discovery that opened their eyes to the world; they literally swallowed books, learned the formulas, the problems, regarding them as a source of strength pointing the way to victory, leading them to a happy, joyous life full of meaning, struggle and interest."

Everyone studied—workers, engineers, factory directors, members of the government. Most leading industrial executives began their working careers as ordinary workers. A poll conducted in late 1934 by the newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda among 427 workers of five of the country's biggest plants showed that 226 of them had their own personal libraries, 150 were opera-goers, 136 were regular visitors to museums, and nearly all of them were attending evening schools. The paper wrote of this with pride. At that time it was indeed something to be proud of.



An advanced training course at a Leningrad steel plant. 1935.

He helped to build the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Works.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

23

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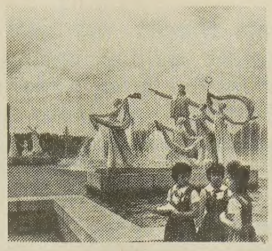
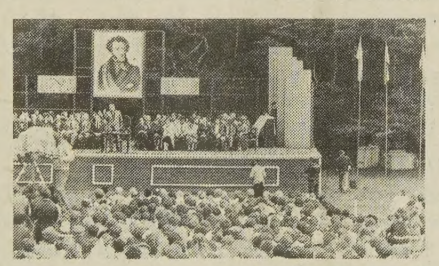


Pyongyang. The future of Korea lies in reunification.

Who was behind the assassination of Aldo Moro!



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THE PEACE STRATEGY OF SOCIALISM

A Political Consultative Committee conference gave a new impulse to the struggle to remove the threat of war and ensure a peaceful future for mankind.

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

Seven decades after the Great October Socialist Revolution the Soviet Union is an entirely new society: having given a thumbs down to capitalism, it became the first socialist state on our planet. Unemployment, overproduction crises are nonexistent in the U.S.S.R. To establish a communist society in their country Soviet people, as far as I can see, need only one, though very important, precondition - peace and peaceful coexistence. Socialism is natural; each country in the world will in its own time change to socialism because it is inevitable. The reason we have nuclear weapons in the world is because there are people who are all out to destroy social progress: not because of any "Soviet nuclear threat."

Tom HOPKINS
Caerphilly, Great Britain

I have read the article by retired British general Michael Harbottle "Time to put the horse before the cart" (No. 18, 1987). I liked his idea of working out a concept of security based on new thinking. Perhaps New Times could arrange for further discussion of this issue by other specialists from our country and abroad!

Alexander SHAMRAENKO
Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, U.S.S.R.

In his letter (No. 5, 1987) my countryman, one Patrick Keith of Montreal, has suggested that the peace movement in Canada is little more than a heaven for idlers with nothing more or better to occupy their time. But this assertion is totally unfounded! The struggle for peace involves the widest possible cross section of our society, including jobless people. On the contrary, in this country as elsewhere, the movement is rising to the challenges of the times with resolute and vigorous action.

Karl ETTINGER
Port Alice, Canada

EDITORIAL

PHYSICIANS SOUND THE ALARM

That wars cripple, not heal - to paraphrase an old folk saying - is borne out by the bitter experience of the centuries. Throughout human history mankind has lived through a great many armed conflicts: world wars and local conflicts, some brief, some protracted. Altogether more than 14,000 have been recorded. They took a toll of more than 3.6 billion lives, and wrought incalculable destruction.

But the deadly threat that hangs over mankind today is incomparable to anything the world experienced in the past. The diagnosis of the terrible disease which mankind cannot survive has been made - it is called nuclear war. It will destroy everything living on our planet. The medics have described it as "the last epidemic."

Realizing more clearly than anyone else what this epidemic would mean for the world they were among the first to raise the alarm, the first to join together in a worldwide movement known today as International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. This past week their voice rang out loudly from Moscow, where they met for their seventh congress.

Six physicians stood at the source of this movement in 1980: three Soviet and three American. Today the movement numbers 170,000 physicians from 55 countries. The swift growth in the membership and prestige of this public organization has no parallel in the past. It is also symptomatic. It reflects strikingly the immense attraction of the humane ideas in the name of which doctors of different nationalities, ages, political views and religious faiths have joined forces. Today they are supported by millions aware of the danger that looms over the world. The presence at the Moscow forum of politicians, writers and scientists, testified eloquently to this.

Medicine's task is not only to treat disease, but also to prevent it. Physicians the world over have warned: if there ever is a nuclear war, they will be helpless to give effective aid to the millions of injured, of those suffering from burns or radiation sickness. So the best preventive medicine today is the truth about the danger threatening all of us, the truth about what awaits us all if the "last epidemic" ever strikes. The truth is a bitter medicine, but it is a potent one everybody needs.

The cooperation of physicians of different countries in the struggle against the nuclear threat has strengthened over the past few years. Working together in the name of the very life of man, not just his health or welfare, they have succeeded in bringing home to millions of people the dangers inherent in nuclear war. They have made such problems as the global consequences of a nuclear catastrophe, "nuclear winter," the extension of the arms race to outer space and many others the subjects of broad discussion.

But so long as the nuclear madness exists, it must be fought against tirelessly. Physicians can contribute substantially to ensuring that a change in the mode of thought, in the very approach to questions of war and peace should become irreversible, and dominate the thinking not only of the masses, but also of the politicians who hold the destiny of mankind in their hands.

"Ideological and political differences," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his message to the congress in Moscow, "should be relegated to background in face of the common destiny of the human race, the priorities of human life and human values. Our time calls for bold and urgent action on the part of all who are concerned over the future of civilization. I am confident that at this turning point in the history of mankind, the voices of physicians will continue to ring out strongly and forcefully."

The Political Consultative Committee of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance met in session in Berlin on May 28-29, 1987.

The Warsaw Treaty member states reaffirmed that their military doctrine is of a defensive character. The session adopted a document to that effect, which follows below.

On the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty member states

The importance of correctly defining the aims and intentions in the military sphere of states and military-political alliances as incorporated in their military doctrines, increases in the present-day situation. Aware of this and proceeding from the need to rid humanity of wars, end the arms race, preclude the use of military force, consolidate peace and security and implement general and complete disarmament, the Warsaw Treaty member states decided to set out the fundamental provisions of their military doctrine, which underlies the activity of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and reflects the community of defensive military-political aims of its member countries and their national military doctrines.

I

The military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty, as of each of its member countries, is subordinated to the objective of preventing war, both nuclear and conventional. By the very nature of the socialist social system, these states have never linked and do not link their future with a military solution of international problems. They favour the solution of all disputable international problems peacefully, by political means.

In the nuclear-space age, the world has become too fragile for war and power politics. Humanity is faced with the problem of survival in conditions when huge quantities of the deadliest armaments have been stockpiled. A world war, even more so nuclear war, would have catastrophic consequences not only for the countries directly involved in the conflict, but also for life on earth itself.

The military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty member states is a strictly defensive one. It proceeds from the view that the use of military means to resolve any disputed question is intolerable in present conditions. Its essence is that:

The Warsaw Treaty member states will never and under no circumstances start hostilities against any country or alliance of countries, unless they are themselves first made the target of a military attack.

They will never be first to use nuclear weapons.

They have no territorial claims to any state either in Europe or outside it.

They do not view any state or people as their enemy. On the contrary, they are prepared to build relations with all countries without exception, given that the interests of security and peaceful coexistence are reciprocally taken into account. The Warsaw Treaty member states declare that they base their international relations firmly on respect for the principles of independence and national sovereignty, the non-use of force or threat of force, the inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, the peaceful resolution of conflicts, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, and the other principles and goals envisaged by the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and generally recognized standards of international relations.

While favouring the implementation of disarmament measures, the Warsaw Treaty member states are compelled to maintain their armed forces in a composition and at a level that would enable them to repulse any attack from outside against any Treaty member state.

The combat readiness of the armed forces of the allied states is maintained at a level sufficient to prevent them being caught unawares. In the event of an attack, they will give a devastating rebuff to the aggressor.

The Warsaw Treaty member states have never had, nor do they have any aspiration to possess armed forces and armaments in excess of what is necessary for these purposes. Thus, they comply strictly with the limits of sufficiency for defence and the repulsion of possible aggression.

II

The Warsaw Treaty member states regard ensuring the reliable security of their peoples as their prime duty to them. The allied socialist states do not claim greater security than other countries, but nor will they agree to lesser security. The existing military-strategic parity remains the decisive factor in preventing war. Further raising the level of parity does not yield, as experience shows, greater security. That is why they will continue to apply their efforts to maintaining the balance of military force at an ever lower level. Under these conditions, ending the arms race and carrying out real disarmament measures are acquiring truly historic significance. The states today have no other path than that of reaching accords on the drastic lowering of the level of military confrontation.

The Warsaw Treaty member states resolutely maintain these positions. In full compliance with the defensive character of their military doctrine, they consistently seek the following principal goals:

First. The earliest comprehensive ban on nuclear testing as a top-priority measure to end the development, production and increased sophistication of nuclear arms, their stage-by-stage reduction and total elimination, and prevention of the spread of the arms race to outer space.

Second. The prohibition and elimination of chemical and other types of weapon of mass destruction.

Third. The reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe to a level where neither side, while ensuring its defence, would have the means for a surprise attack on the other side, or for starting offensive operations in general.

Fourth. Strict verification of all disarmament measures, based on a combination of national technical facilities and international procedures, including the establishment of relevant international bodies, the exchange of military information and holding on-site inspections.

Fifth. The creation in various regions of Europe and elsewhere of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons, as well as zones of reduced concentration of armaments and enhanced confidence, the implementation of military confidence-building measures in Europe on a reciprocal basis and the attainment of accords on such measures in other areas of the world, as well as on the seas and oceans. The mutual renunciation by Warsaw Treaty member states and North Atlantic Treaty member states of the use of armed force and the adoption of commitments to maintain relations of peace, the liquidation of military bases in the territory of other states; the withdrawal of troops within the confines of national borders, the mutual withdrawal of the most dangerous offensive types of armament from the zone of direct contact of the two military alliances, as well as the lowering of the concentration in that zone of armed forces and armaments to the agreed minimum level.

Sixth. Regarding Europe's continuing split into opposing military blocs as unnatural, the Warsaw Treaty member states favour the simultaneous disbanding of the North Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and as a first step, the abolition of their military organizations and, ultimately, a comprehensive system of international security.

x x x

The Warsaw Treaty member states propose to the North Atlantic Alliance that consultations be held with the aim of comparing the military doctrines of both alliances, analyzing their character and jointly studying the directions of their further evolution with a view to removing the mutual suspicion and mistrust that have accumulated over the years, attaining a better understanding of each other's intentions and ensuring that the military concepts and doctrines of the military blocs and their members be based on defensive principles.

The existing imbalances and asymmetries in separate types of arms and armed services, and the search for ways of removing them on the basis of reductions by the side that is ahead on the understanding that such reductions would lead to the establishment of ever lower levels, could also be a subject of consultations.

The socialist member states of the Treaty propose that such consultations be held at an authoritative expert level with the participation of the military experts of countries of both sides. They are prepared to hold such consultations as early as in the course of this year. The consultations could be held in Warsaw or Brussels, or in each of these cities alternately.

FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

TODOR ZHIVKOV
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

FOR THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

JANOS KADAR
General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

FOR THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ERICH HONECKER
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic

FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic

FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

FOR THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

GUSTAV HUSAK
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

A recipe for survival

The 7th World Congress of Internationlal Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) movement brought together in the capital of the Soviet Union people who consider it their duty to save mankind from annihilation in a nuclear catastrophe. Though they are neither politicians, nor military experts, the physicians believe they are entitled to offer governments their prescription for survival. The Copresident of the movement Professor Bernard Lown of the Harvard School of Public Health, remarked that the two main things that every one of us should know are that the world is already teetering on the brink of a third world war, but that it is still possible for mankind to prevent it. That is why, he continued, our movement insists on the total abolition of nuclear arsenals. That is our main medical and moral task.

Side by side with the physicians at the congress - some 3,000 participants from 55 countries - were eminent scientists, politicians, public figures, writers, religious figures and people active in the arts.

U.S. Senator Albert Gore described how in his home state of Tennessee during a meeting with a group of 500 students he had asked those who believed they would witness a nuclear war to raise their hands and been astounded to see almost all of them do so. But when he asked who believed that much could be done to prevent it, he saw no more than 2-3 hands raised. It was, he continued, as if I had seen sentence passed on our future by the generation that has grown up under the threat of nuclear destruction. I realized that we must get that sentence repealed, so that our children and grandchildren can look to the future with hope, not despair, Gore concluded.

The prominent American businessman and public figure Armand Hammer took the Senator's idea a step further.

The danger of nuclear war is so great, he said, that we must do everything in our power to ensure that such a war never breaks out. The Chernobyl disaster, he added, provided only a pale simulacrum of what the aftermath of a global nuclear catastrophe would be like. It taught us better to understand the impending threat. There are more than 50,000 nuclear warheads in the world, and in each of them slumber dozens, hundreds of Chernobyls.

The 7th Congress took as its motto Einstein's words that if mankind wanted to survive it would need new criteria of thinking. Probably that was why the participants in the forum so warmly acclaimed the message addressed to them by General Secretary of the CC CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev, in which he noted that the ideas of saving civilization and treating the nuclear disease that inspire the IPPNW movement are accessible to the minds and hearts of Soviet people. The Soviet Union, the message says, is ready at any moment to resume the moratorium on nuclear tests, and to ban them altogether if the United States and other nuclear powers agree to do likewise.

The forum's programme was extremely varied and work in the more than 50 different meetings of the colloquiums and practical working groups began early in the morning.

"In the F.R.G. the situation is most complex," Till Bastian, West German representative of the IPPNW, told us after one of the meetings. "As you know, the Federal government led by Chancellor Kohl is hindering, rather than promoting, the idea of removing nuclear missiles from Europe. We strongly condemn such a policy. All the more so, as the different public opinion polls carried out in our country have revealed that almost 70 per cent of the population want nuclear weapons abolished."

One reason for the heated political debate that flared up at the congress was the speech delivered by the U.S. ambassador in Moscow, Jack Matlock, in defence of SDI. Even his own countrymen disagreed with him. Later, when Colonel Robert Bowman of the U.S. Air Force, who had in the past participated in developing the SDI programme, spoke he demonstrated on the basis of specific data that SDI would have the most catastrophic consequences for all people inhabiting our earth.

One speaker after another mounted the rostrum: from Mexico, Nigeria, the U.S., the Soviet Union.... Alternatives to nuclear weapons do exist! As was pointed out in the movement's statement distributed at the congress under the headline "What we believe," "acting together, men and womnen can relieve misery, assure health, and protect their habitat."

After the congress, participants met Mikhail Gorbachev. The General Secretary of the CC CPSU told them that he had been following the movement's activities for a number of years. Its recommendations, he said, have been taken into account in formulating the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

In the interval between meetings, we saw a little girl in the hall carefully writing the word "Peace" in English and Russian on a poster depicting a crossed out bomb. For a nuclear-free future it is necessary to start working from early childhood.

VLADIMIR GALIN and
ANATOLY KOVRIGIN

The 7th World Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. Left to right: Kanyrbai Abdullayev (U.S.S.R.), Barbara Satz (G.D.R.), Daniel Wood (U.S.A.), Yoshito Matsushige (Japan).

TASS photo

The role of strength in politics

VALENTIN FALIN

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was, beyond doubt, a most daring and perspicacious futurologist. Possessed of an absolute hatred for war, he was the first political leader to demand that peace be recognized as the only true criterion for humanity, and political and social ethics, and as an imperative for the time, taking precedence even over class interests.

That the Soviet Republic announced its birth with a Decree on Peace was natural and logical. Thenceforth the peoples of the world knew that there was a country determined to save civilization from the vicious circle in which peace was only a respite between wars. After all, it is a truism that in order to be different you have to be alive. It is only after death that everyone is exactly the same.

The Soviet state has never believed anything to be more important than peace. As we see it, there is nothing more important than human welfare. Those who champion the interests of ordinary people everywhere will always be opposed to militarism, the arms race and war. What we have lacked most of all in the course of the 70 years of Soviet power have been days of peace and tranquillity that could have enabled us to concentrate on constructive effort and on the solution of problems on which the well-being and living standards of the people depend.

Why does all this have to be said? Here are the reasons.

It is a fact that the 27th Congress charted the course for a critical assessment of all aspects of Soviet life, both home and foreign policy, and for their renewal.Proceeding from this, the opponents of socialism have hastily claimed that our world outlook, or at least the ways in which it was being embodied, is wrong and that the practices based on it are sterile. Some of our critics have resorted to purely formal methods: they say that errors alone are rectified. Others pretend to be serious, producing further specious arguments in the hope of obtaining better dividends. Their speculations assume the following form.

"Containment" and other specious arguments

The U.S.S.R.'s innovative foreign policy initiatives are a reality. But, our opponents say, since they have been advanced within the framework of socialism or on the basis of socialist ideas, these initiatives are an abandonment of "extremes" in Soviet policies in the interests of the U.S.S.R. They are not, therefore, a step intended to meet the West halfway. It follows that if changes can prove anything at all, they show, first, that NATO "has been right so far," second, that it is preferable to be particularly tough with Moscow and that "timid compromises" are no good. By being "right" our opponents mean pursuit of the policy of containment, and by "compromise" - recognition of the U.S.S.R.'s right to equality and equal security.

Just as the impression on a copper coin wears away with continuous use, the meaning of political terms also tends to lose its definition.Thus, in the context of defence, the word containment is divorced from its original meaning. The policy of containment, its godfathers preached, is in fact a policy of deliberate pressure. Lest it should be mere bluff, this policy should be backed by superior military might.

Now let us see how the architects of Plan Dropshot interpreted containment. Truman adopted the plan as a basis for U.S. policies till 1957 - the deadline for Washington's preparations for an all-out nuclear war against the U.S.S.R. The section under the headline "Strategic estimate" sets forth the "political, economic and military conditions leading to containment of Soviet expansion and to the eventual **retraction of Soviet domination."** It was to retract the U.S.S.R. that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was created. Up to a given time this secret was kept carefully under lock and key in steel safes. And to make the aggressive bloc appear respectable and defensive the very existence of the secret was officially denied.

Thus, constant pressure with the lever of the arms race adds up to containment. Whether it is massive or takes the form of a flexible response makes no real difference. What is importanht is the ultimate aim, namely retracting.

And more. Among the arguments intended to breed doubt about the Soviet proposals on nuclear arms in Europe or, belatedly, to justify NATO's actions, there are many that can be termed double-talk. While the U.S.S.R. was trying to catch up with the U.S.A. in the arms race, some Western propagandists were advancing the thesis of responsibility shared equally by the superpowers. As soon as the U.S.S.R. came up with the principle of adequacy, they accused it of "overproducing" weapons, building up "excessive stockpiles" and exceeding "reasonable defence needs." Proceeding from this, they put the blame on the U.S.S.R. for the dangerous growth of tensions and the crisis of détente.

This is typical double-talk and is by no means harmless. Far from it. The point at issue is not, though it may seem so, who was first to identify peace as the supreme and universal boon. Our critics are eager to establish the priorities for the future, as they see fit. To do so they have to persuade public opinion that the U.S.S.R. is the source of all trouble, both in the past and the future, that it is not to be trusted. If Moscow wants changes, it must name the price it is prepared to pay for them. To raise this price still further, the "democracies" should not be diverted from their goals.They should put the maximum effort into their programmes for militarization.

If Heinrich Heine's dream of paradise came true...

Let us imagine that human reason has prevailed and the "enemy image" has been exorcised. People waking in the morning are free from fear of attack or treachery. Only friends surround you. It is rather like Heinrich Heine's grotesque version of paradise, where everybody rushes to help his neighbour, to give him a warmer place and a tastier meal. There are no superpowers, not even any powers, just ordinary states that differ only in area and population size, but not in privileges or mortgages inherited or acquired.

You only have to propose this view of the world to an American conservative to be branded a heretic or even the Devil himself. And no wonder, because you will be attacking the eternal order of things with its property, racial and other hierarchies, the strong ruling the weak, its elite and its outcasts, those destined to rule and those to be ruled. You will be questioning the U.S.A.'s mission to enlighten humanity, because, as Ronald Reagan put it, America is the embodiment of freedom and virtue. The U.S. President also added that it is carrying out its mission by relying not on the Gospel alone, but also on overwhelming military might.

Is this an overstatement, an exaggeration? Not at all.

Let us recall Senator Jackson. He did not assail the SALT 2 treaty because the Americans had secured unfavourable terms. He raised no objections to the

military-technical conditions. What Jackson found unacceptable was the political and psychological consequences that would follow from the SALT 2 treaty as soon as it entered into force. The Americans might acquire a "false" sense of security, they would relax internally and would find it difficult to maintain their fighting trim.

Kenneth Adelman, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, confirmed Senator Jackson's conclusions and enlarged on them. He said that if the SALT 2 treaty had been ratified, its principles would have become law for the U.S.A. It is not the minor details, but the principles that he rejects, in particular the principle of equality and equal security.

Why has the Reagan administration found the principle of equality and equal security so vexing? In criticizing Richard Nixon and James Carter, its spokesmen accuse them of sedition and apostasy. Why? According to them, to recognize the Soviet Union, which is a socialist state, as a regular member of the world community and a partner in resolving interstate problems is sedition. To accept the concept of peaceful coexistence, thereby abandoning the policy of the position of strength and giving up the arms race instead of stepping it up, is apostasy.

Indeed, if you accept the principle of equality and equal security, you will have to admit that cooperation is an optimal model for relations. Equality precludes claims to "world leadership." The lust for "leadership" having been extinguished, there is no purpose in acquiring military superiority. It would then be natural to lower the levels of military confrontation, and abolish all new types of weapon, particularly offensive ones.

But perhaps we are simplifying matters by assuming that, in the context of arms parity, the use of the strength factor is objectively hopeless and the arms race is, therefore, purposeless? It appears that we are. And here is the reason.

The arms race as a mode of warfare

All the U.S.A's postwar doctrines have been built on the premise that the arms race is a mode of warfare. The cold war was defined as a variety of power conflict intended to secure victory, which in fact ruled out the search for political alternatives.

Memorandum No. 7 of the U.S. National Security Council (1948) made cold war official government policy and was based on the assumption that war between socialist and capitalist states was inevitable. It went on to say that the U.S. could not achieve its goal ("defeat of the forces of Soviet-directed world communism is vital to the security of the United States") by virtue of defensive policies alone.

Among other things, offensive policies implied preventive wars or, as they were then termed, aggression for peace. Fiery arguments were held in the corridors of power in Washington as to whether or not to attack. If it was decided to attack, when should the nuclear weapon be used - immediately or later? However, the U.S.A.'s role as military power number one was not in question, any more than its being stronger than any state or group of states on land, sea and in the air, and enjoying a superiority that would undoubtedly ensure success in any conflict. The U.S.S.R. was to play the role of power number two. At best, as it were. This was to be achieved through an unceasing arms race which, U.S. leaders thought, would tax the U.S. to a lesser degree than the U.S.S.R.

This is a classic example of metaphysical thinking. It is a case of applying in the late 20th century siege strategy that was already outdated during the Napoleonic wars. It would have been enough to ask the question: what was to be done after the destructive power of a single nation's weapon stockpile had outstripped the survivability of the planet?

Modern weaponry, as never before, is primarily targeted on people. It is designed to destroy people in general regardless of age, sex or occupation. It is effectively and indisputably genocidal. The accumulated weapon stockpiles have a vast overkill capability, i.e., they can destroy all life many times over. By developing, manufacturing and stockpiling more and more new types of weapon the advocates of "position-of-strength" thinking are actually gratifying their arrogance. War is really out of the question anyway, unless some madman decides to turn his last hour into civilization's last day.

Ronald Reagan's call to arm the Bolsheviks to death is not mere rhetoric. It is a political and ideological platform that returns the United States to its basic imperial doctrines. Take, for example, the recent speech the U.S. President made on the eve of May Day. He said that it is not only for the reason of its adversary being unable to catch up with the U.S. that the latter is unwilling to mark time (in the arms race. - **V.F.**). It would not turn its right to develop a system that will provide protection against ballistic missiles into a bargaining card.

These two sentences convey the essence of the matter. The U.S. intends to pursue its line without looking over its shoulder. If the advesary starts to catch up with it, Washington will step up the arms race. If the adversary is suddenly short of breath, it will likewise increase the pace. But suppose the adversary is able to maintain the pace set without tiring? The answer is the same: step on it in the hope that he will fall behind in the end.

This is the atomic, not the iron or stone age

Another revelation: the U.S. has no intention of observing its commitments arising from the ABM treaty. Why? Because the U.S. chooses to defy all agreements and exercise its "right" to develop and employ systems that will guarantee protection against missiles. In reality it wants to have all types of weapon and weapon system, including chemical and biological weapons and systems based on new technologies, that will assure it an advantage. To put it in a nutshell, the future of the Americans will depend not on the restructuring of international relations on principles of sound reason and justice, but on sheer strength. Superior strength, to be more exact, a strength the opponent will be unable to match.

It seems that people reasoned in this way in the stone, then the bronze and later in the iron age. No wonder one of Ronald Reagan's favourite and most frequently used figures of speech is the "big stick." The "big stick" was more than just a coinage of Theodore Roosevelt's, who religiously believed in America's "global mission," but a tool he used every day. At the beginning of the 20th century American leaders did not indulge in talk about freedom, democracy and other such things. The slogan then was big money. A "big stick" was a big stick in those days. It has not got any better just because Ronald Reagan has affixed to it, like a tourist to his cane, a few decorative labels, such as "public diplomacy," and "American show democracy." A "big stick" will always be a big stick whether you use it on land, sea, in the air or in outer space, whether you hide it behind your back or hold it openly in your hands. It has a purpose.

We are living in hard times. War is out of the question. In contrast with the past, armed force can no longer resolve a dispute., Today weaponry can only destroy both parties involved in the conflict. Despite this, there are excessive stockpiles of weapons. All sorts of weapons in every part of the world. This is a paradox, though by no means a brilliant one.

Albert Einstein observed that your perception of a given phenomenon depends on the theory you apply. It is theory that determines perception.

Obviously the present U.S. leaders do not find peace attractive because they proceed from the theory of strength. They are, therefore, preparing for war. In doing so they are defying reality, common sense and even the instinct to self-preservation. ■

NATO

Newton's law of motion misapplied

●CONFERENCES OF TOP NATO BODIES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE BELGIAN CAPITAL.

The chairman of NATO's Military Committee, General Wolfgang Altenburg of the F.R.G., summed up the conclusions at a press conference in Brussels as follows: "If arms control talks do come to results, this will put an edge on the need to improve our conventional capability." This idea found fairly wide support at the traditional spring conferences of NATO's top military bodies between May 25-27, "improving the conventional capability" figures in both communiqués issued by the defence ministers. The importance of this was underlined at meetings with the press by NATO's Secretary-General Lord Carrington. Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger and his Dutch colleague Van Eekelen, the present chairman of the Eurogroup. In other words, although no agreement has yet been reached on reducing nuclear arsenals in Europe, leaders of the NATO alliance are already bent on getting more money to modernize and strengthen their conventional potential.

Isaac Newton established that every force generates a counterforce. Today the opponents of disarmament are applying this fundamental law of physics to politics. They seek to compensate for any curb on or reduction in one type of weapon with a buildup of other types. That was how it was in the past as well. During the negotiations on SALT-1, the American side turned down the Soviet proposal to restrict not only the number of launchers, but also the number of warheads. That, their representatives said then, was the price to be paid for the treaty itself. And what was the result? The number of nuclear warheads increased sharply. When SALT-2 was being drafted, Washington agreed to a ceiling on ballistic missiles,but turned down the idea of a ban on cruise missiles. This new arms race channel has already produced several thousands of lethal "birds." Now, when a real possibility has appeared of eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles, the West has again raised the question of "compensation."

In addition to discussing the strengthening of their conventional forces, the defence ministers also considered nuclear countermeasures. Should the "zero option" be implemented, they proposed filling the gap with air- or sea-based cruise missiles. Nor have they dropped the idea of turning the medium-range Pershing 2 missiles into shorter-range Pershing 1Bs, which would allow the U.S. to retain its Euro-strategic infrastructure. Another demand is that any agreement on shorter-range missiles should exclude the 72 Pershing 1A missiles which are under dual American and West German control.

The Defence Planning Committee declared in its communiqué: "Our objective is enhanced security at lower levels of strength." The plan to build up armaments is a blatant contradiction of this slogan. Nor is it compatible with the public mood. The Atlantic strategists are trying to iron out these contradictions with the old steamroller tactics of pointing to a "Soviet threat." While the ministers were busy in conference, the mass media were given a rare chance to meet Donald Scott, the U.S. Defence Department specialist who regularly briefs President Reagan and allied leaders. His flow of words, and numerous photographs and diagrams were all designed to lead his audience to one conclusion: that in the military field the East is ahead of the West in almost every area. Moreover, this superiority and the "threat" increase with every year. As I was unable to check on the numerous details, I put a hypothetical question to Mr Scott: would he exchnge NATO's military potential for the "superior" forces of the Warsaw Treaty?

"Would I change them?" he repeated. Well, no. Personally. I can't speak as a military commander. I can't speak for General Rogers or General Altenburg. I can only speak from the point of view of a Soviet specialist. I would not. For many reasons."

To avoid any misunderstanding, I have quoted Mr Scott in full. The Brussels fountain of a "Soviet threat" has not of course started sprouting by chance. But NATO's activity on the propaganda and military fronts can hardly compensate for its passivity in the area of peaceful dialogue. That is well understood in the West too. As The New York Times summed up: "For arms control actions to be met with equal and opposite reactions is a tribute neither to Newton nor intelligence."

VYACHESLAV BOIKOV
Brussels

CHINA - U.S.A.

The problem remains

●A CHINESE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION LED BY CC CPC POLITBUREAU MEMBER, VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLIC'S CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION YANG SHANGKUN, HAS PAID A TWO-WEEK VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

Yang Shangkun was received by President Reagan. He also had meetings with Vice-President George Bush, State Secretary George Shultz and Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. At the meeting with the President, the leader of the U.S. administration firmly promised to pursue a policy of "one China" and not support the "two Chinas policy" or the policy of "one China and one Taiwan." The Chinese side noted that after Taiwan's reunification with China in keeping with the principle of "one state with two systems," the island, as a special administrative zone of China, would enjoy broad autonomy. Neither troops nor administrative personnel would be sent from the mainland to the island.

However, there is evidence to show that the U.S. is in no hurry to abide by this principle in its present relations with China. The links between the United States and Taiwan often acquire the nature of direct interference in the affairs of the Chinese People's Republic. As the newspaper Renmin ribao noted in connection with the recent attacks on China by American Senators, "One cannot help but see that there are people in the United States who under various pretexts would like to prevent the development of our relations with the United States and interfere in our internal affairs."

The Xinhua Agency pointed out that during his meeting with President Reagan, Yang Shangkun had noted that China desires both the further stable development of relations with the United States, and an improvement in Chinese-Soviet relations. The leader of the Chinese delegation mentioned the development of bilateral ties between the United States and China in the military field. In St.Louis Yang Shangkun visited the headquarters of McDonnell Douglas, the biggest American producers of military and civil aircraft. The joint production of a Chinese-American passenger plane has begun in Shanghai in cooperation with the company. In Omaha the Chinese government delegation visited the U.S. Strategic Aviation headquarters.

During the talks with the State Secretary, there was an exchange of views on American-Chinese relations, including the problem of Taiwan and international issues of mutual interest. The difficulties existing in relations between the two countries were identified, along with the "obstacles to be surmounted."

MIKHAIL YAKOVLEV

SOUTH ASIA

Sri Lanka: ethnic deadlock

● A FINAL RESOLUTION TO THE INTERNAL ETHNIC CONFLICT BY MILITARY METHODS - SO THE COURSE NOW BEING PURSUED BY THE SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT IS SEEN FROM NEIGHBOURING INDIA.

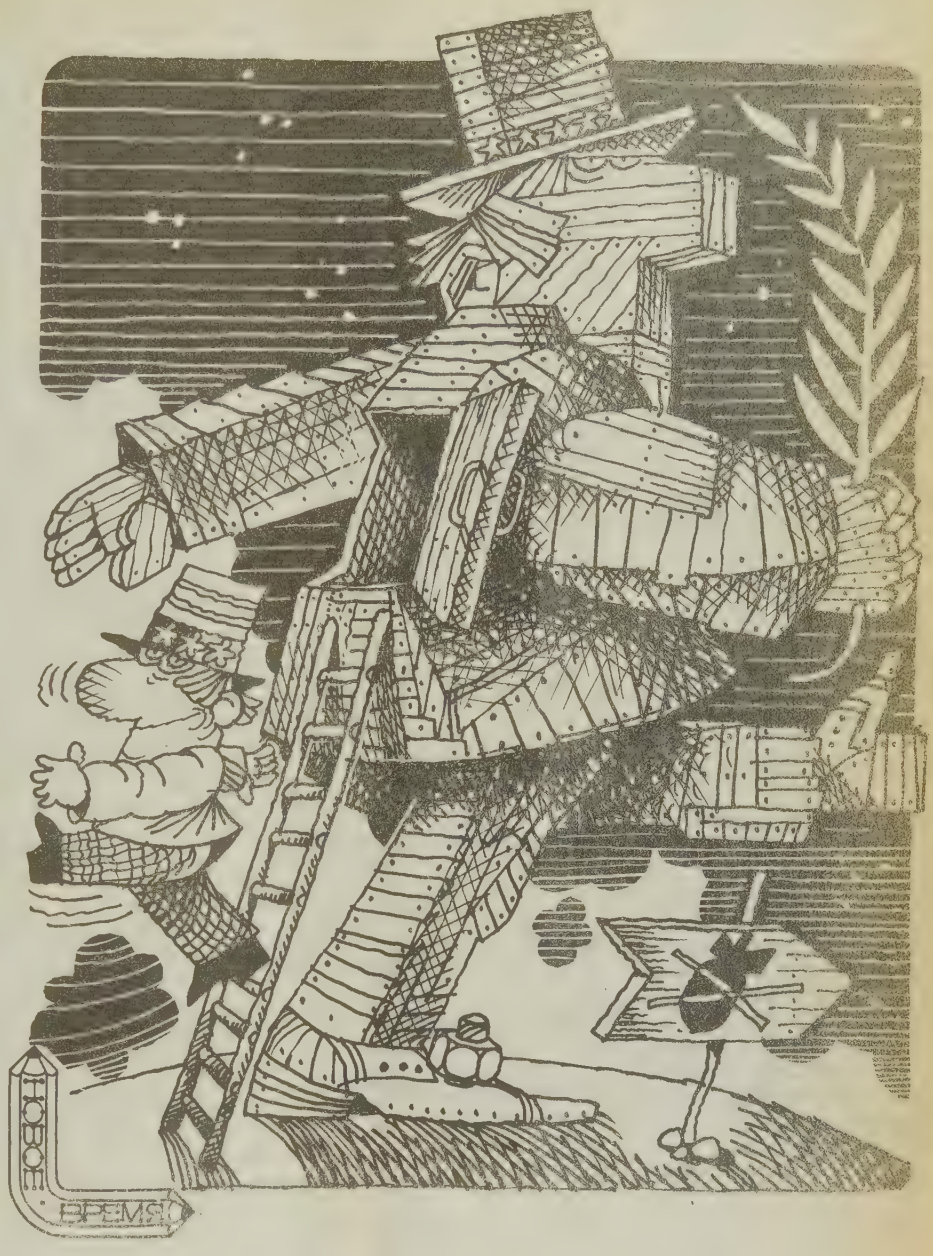
The Sri Lankan authorities have started bombing the northern Jaffna peninsula, and, at the end of May, ordered the army to occupy this large area populated in the main by Tamils. The number of casualties already runs into hundreds.

The problem of relations between this national minority (about 18 per cent of the population) with the Sinhalese (the nucleus of the total population of 16 million) inherited from the British colonialists has been the dominant feature in Sri Lanka's political life since 1983. Since then about 130,000 Tamils, fleeing from repression and discrimination, have left the island to find a home in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, with whose population they have close ethnic and religious ties.

But it was not only the sentiments of the Tamil community in the large south Indian state that prompted the Indian government to offer to mediate in the search for political settlement of the acute conflict. The intercommunal strife destabilizes Sri Lanka, making its strategically-placed territory an easy prey for the United States, which is not averse to increasing its military strongpoints and bases in the Indian Ocean by adding to them the unsinkable aircraft carrier of Sri Lanka.

India has from the outset sought to reconcile the Sinhalese and Tamil communities by elaborating a political formula, which would take into account both the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil minority for one form of autonomy or another within the framework of a united and territorially integral Sri Lanka.

At the end of last year it looked as if the two sides had finally worked out a realistic formula, known in the political lexicon of the region as the 19th



Looks convincing, doesn't it!

Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

of December proposals. They provided for the granting of autonomy to the northern and eastern provinces (with the exclusion of the regions inhabited by Sinhalese from the latter).

However, to this day these proposals have not been implemented. The government in Colombo has not only gone back on the formula it approved in principle in the past, but has in effect rejected the mediating services of India to get a political settlement, and has moved towards a clearly military solution.

Rajiv Gandhi called on the Sri Lankan government to refrain from military action and seek a peaceful settlement of the Tamil problem. His appeal, however, went unanswered....

Explaining the reasons for the situation that has developed, a senior official at the Indian Ministry for Foreign Affairs said in an interview for New Times:

Delhi, unfortunately, has to deal not only with Colombo, but also with the external forces standing behind those who are putting pressure on the Sri Lankan authorities. It is significant that while in the past the Sri Lankan government described the Tamils as "separatists," "secessionists" and "guerrillas," they are now labelled "terrorists." That term has been borrowed from the ideological arsenal of the West, and its use opens the door wide to the use of any retaliatory measures, right up to the bombing of refugee camps, hospitals and schools, and mass "preemptive arrests."

And that is exactly what is now happening in Sri Lanka.

Having gained the right to refuel its naval vessels in the Sri Lankan port of Trincomalee, the United States has brought in its "friends" and "allies" to help resolve the island's problems. According to Indian press reports, since 1984 about 100 agents of the Israeli secret service Mossad have been training Sri Lankan special service troops led by the President's son in methods of fighting "terrorists." The bombs now falling on Jaffna and the surrounding areas were made in Pakistan, while the planes, according to certain sources, have Pakistani pilots.

In his comments the representative of the Indian Foreign Ministry stressed that Washington was exploiting the Sri Lanka crisis in the hope of acquiring an additional bridgehead in the Indian Ocean.

In view of the situation that has developed in the north of Sri Lanka, the Indian government has decided to render urgent humanitarian aid to the population of the area affected by the bombing and the economic blockade. India announced that at the beginning of June twenty vessels flying the flag of the Indian Red Cross Society would sail without any military escort for the port of Jaffna with food and medicine.

Our own correspondent
Delhi

GUATEMALA

Striking for land, for higher pay

● A WAVE OF MASS DEMONSTRATIONS HAS SWEPT GUATEMALA. PEASANTS, CIVIL SERVANTS AND TEACHERS HAVE DEMANDED THAT THE LAND BE TURNED OVER TO THOSE WHO TILL IT, WAGES BE RAISED AND NORMAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE ASSURED.

Several thousand peasants from the For Land movement led by father Andres Giron came to the capital from the south coast. They gathered in the large square in front of the presidential palace and announced a hunger strike. Andres Giron declared that it would continue until President Cerezo satisfied the peasants' demands.

The government was first compelled to negotiate with the strikers and then to make concessions and turn over several tracts of land to the peasants. "We have won only part of what we set out to win," father Giron said on leaving the presidential palace. "The struggle will continue."

Shortly afterwards, civil servants struck in response to a call issued by the biggest trade union association in the country. They were demanding salary increases and controls on the prices of prime necessities. There was every reason for such demands. As the price of coffee, one of Guatemala's main export items, has fallen on the world market, the country's economy is in dire straits. Electricity rates have soared, as well as the prices of the main food products. And as a result the standard of living of the Guatemalan people has fallen drastically.

Initially 150,000 people stayed away from work, but they were joined by another 100,000. Neither the authorities' attempts at blackmail nor police threats had any effect on the strikers. Soon they were joined by teachers and secondary school pupils. They occupied the premises of educational establishments in the centre of the city and erected barricades.

Only on the 15th day was agreement reached with President Cerezo to end the strike. The government promised civil servants a salary increase. But the amount has yet to be discussed by a commission made up of representatives of the trade unions and the government.

The mass action taken by Guatemalan working people has forced Cerezo's government to listen to their needs and their most pressing problems.

VLADIMIR DOLGOV
our own correspondent
Managua

NICARAGUA

Contras take a beating

● IN MAY UNITS OF THE SANDINIST PEOPLE'S ARMY (SPA) CARRIED OUT A SUCCESSFUL OPERATION TO CLEAR A NUMBER OF NORTHERN REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY OF SUBVERSIVE CONTRA BANDS.

According to the Nicaraguan Defence Ministry, there are now just over 6,000 bandits, three thousand of whom are operating deep inside the country. The contras are entering Nicaragua from Honduras, where they are trained by expert saboteurs from the CIA.

The Americans, displeased by the endless quarrels among the counterrevolutionary leaders, are known to have "inspired" them to set up a new grouping. It comprises different contra factions and is pompously styled the Nicaraguan Resistance. The obvious reason for this was to try to lend a semblance of respectability to mercenary organizations that had been compromised. And so the label has been changed. But what about the substance?

Here are just a few of the latest examples of routine activities on the Nicaraguan soil by the "freedom fighters," as President Reagan likes to call the bandits.

In Esteli Department they organized a road ambush, as a result of which Jose Ramon Cardoza, director of a local farm, lost his life. Next day the contras attacked another car, this time in Matagalpa, injuring two people and taking one prisoner.

In Chontales Department, under cover of dark, they attacked the village of Comalapa, using mortars and other

firearms. The attack was repulsed by units of the Sandinist People's Army. "We fought them till one in the morning, and then the contras turned and fled," was how Martin Flores, a senior official of the SNLF, later described the battle. "At the time we did not unfortunately have enough weapons to supply the people." The government of the republic has provided the people with weapons by means of which ordinary men and women can help the army defend the gains of the revolution.

One unit of the SPA stopped the bandits' attempts to blow up electric pylons and obstruct traffic on an important road linking Managua with the Atlantic coast. Sandinist soldiers got in ahead of the enemy and took up positions on either side of the highway, so that when the saboteurs arrived with their explosives they were met by heavy fire. Four of the bandits were killed and the rest fled.

But the biggest operation, in which 3,000 SPA men took part, was in the north of the country, where the rivers Amaka and Bocay meet. Contras from the group known as the Nicaraguan Democratic Force were preparing to build fortifications in this unpopulated area. They wanted to provoke a conflict with Honduras, in order to use it as a pretext for turning to the Pentagon for military aid. The CIA supplied them with portable rockets and the latest means of communication. The bandit operations were run from the U.S. embassy in Tegucigalpa. However, the Washington mercenaries' criminal plans were not destined to be carried out. The Sandinist People's Army cleared the zone before the American military exercises in Honduras had ended. They had apparently been timed to coincide with the beginning of the contras' operation. 800 bandits were thrown out of Nicaragua. The liberation operations of the Sandinist Army continue.

Our own correspondent
Managua

SOUTH AFRICA

Reign of terror

THE RACIST REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA IS RESORTING TO TERROR AND VIOLENCE IN ITS ATTEMPTS TO INTIMIDATE NEIGHBOURING AFRICAN STATES AND IMPOSE ITS WILL ON THEM.

A typical example is the latest act of state terrorism committed by Pretoria's special services against Mozambique on the night of May 28. That night a group of South African commandos infiltrated Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, and attacked two dwelling houses, the African National Congress offices and a food storehouse. Three innocent Mozambican civilians - two men and a woman - were killed.

Local security forces took several of the bandits prisoner. They also found documents and equipment showing that the raid had been carried out by professionals from Pretoria. Similar evidence was found in three half-burned vehicles abandoned by the commandos on the shore, before making their getaway by sea. At present investigations are under way, but no one doubts for a moment Pretoria's involvement in the crime. The whole pattern is too similar to that followed by the Israeli intelligence service Mossad, when they murdered three prominent Palestinians in Beirut in 1973. And that Mossad collaborates actively with the Pretoria special services is common knowledge.

The raid on Maputo was just the latest in a series of similar actions undertaken by the racists. The raid in May of last year on the Zimbabwean capital of Harare, when racist saboteurs blew up two buildings used by representatives of the ANC, comes at once to mind. At that time raiders from Pretoria also attacked civilian premises in Botswana. A year later a group of commandos found their way into the Zambian town of Livingstone, where they killed four civilians and blew up a building. On May 25 a similar attack was carried out in Swaziland. There were three casualties, and Sheila Moipone Nyanda, a refugee from the South Africa, was kidnapped.

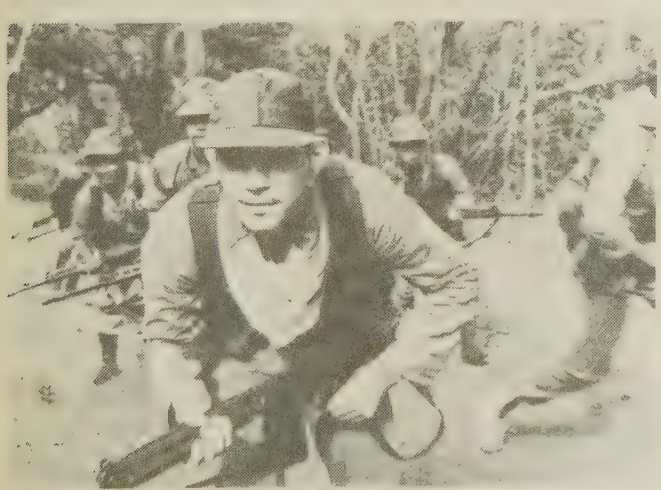
Mozambique has now become the latest victim of South African state terrorism, although on March 16, 1984, the two countries signed a non-aggression pact, known as the Nkomati Treaty. Pretoria has violated this treaty in the past as well, by giving aid to the so-called Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), which is waging a bloody war against the people of Mozambique. The racists have now cynically and cold-bloodedly trampled that treaty underfoot.

Even the U.S. State Department described the commando raid as deliberate and particularly harsh, adding that it could in no way be justified by any concept of self-defence. Washington's hypocrisy in trying to dissociate itself from its old friends in Pretoria was exposed by Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende. He declared that the criminal act had demonstrated once more the utter amorality and inhumanity of the apartheid system, and was a direct outcome of the vote in the U.S. Senate. (The Senate had voted to stop aid to the frontline states if they did not desist from helping the national liberation movements in southern Africa. - **E.K.**) The minister called on the U.N. Security Council to take all the necessary steps to halt South African aggression against neighbouring states. The Mozambique government has also bitterly condemned the raid.

It is, of course, unlikely that condemnation and exposures will change the racist regime. What needed are decisive and consistent sanctions, of which so much has been said so often from the rostrum of the U.N. However, the U.S. and its allies are doing their utmost to prevent such sanctions being implemented, and are thus conniving in Pretoria's banditry.

EVGENY KORSHUNOV

Contras attacking civilians in Nicaragua.
From Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)



The voice of reason

The leaders of the famous Six addressed a joint statement to Reagan and Gorbachev saying: "Today we make an appeal not to jeopardize the opportunity to start a process of nuclear disarmament." "The present momentum should not be lost," they stressed.

It will be recalled that this group of prominent statesmen first raised its voice for disarmament three years ago - on May 22, 1984. Today we are impelled to pay tribute to Olof Palme, founder and active member of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security, which has now been named after him (its ideas were picked up and carried forward by the leaders of the six countries) as well as to Indira Gandhi, an outstanding fighter for peace, one of the most prestigious leaders of the non-aligned movement.

The organization of the group reflected the profound concern felt in the world for the fate of mankind when it began to look as if the arms race was getting out of control and might spread to other spheres, specifically space.

What specifically is the group's approach to the problems of peace and international security?

The message to Mikhail Gorbachev in February 1986 expounds the need to draw up a new concept of universal security without nuclear weapons. As long as such weapons exist, it maintains, there can be no security in the world. While the Group of Six were preparing their document, in Moscow the 27th CPSU Congress was in full session. The congress put forward the idea of an all-embracing system of international security, and the approach of the Six to this problem was very much in tune with that of the Soviet Union.

The U.S.S.R. also shares the group's commitment (fully established over the past three years) to respect for the right of each nation to a peaceful, secure and independent existence; the right of each nation to live according to its own aspirations; the use of world resources in the interests of a secure and worthwhile life for all people within the framework of an international system, free from wars and founded on peace and justice; defence of the right to life and the elimination of the possibility of using nuclear weapons and a nuclear war breaking out.

The group has drawn up a whole programme of constructive measures - from help in the verification of a moratorium on nuclear tests right up to the conclusion of a treaty envisaging a comprehensive ban on such tests.

A great deal of attention is devoted in the group's documents to the development, testing, production, deployment and use of all types of space weapon. Washington's attempts to torpedo the Soviet-American agreements on arms control evoked a negative response from the leaders of the Six. They insisted that the two sides abide by the letter and spirit of the agreements, especially those concerning disarmament and the limitation of weapons.

While giving top priority to the abolition of nuclear weapons, the Group of Six also paid attention to such issues as a balanced reduction in conventional weapons, the discontinuation of anti-

Under pressure

They say that the more vigorously a statement is denied, the more likely it is to prove true. A paradox? Perhaps, but this exactly describes how the Delhi diplomatic corps and journalists feel about the May 18 démarche by the U.S. embassy in India. On that day an embassy spokesman officially denied local press reports to the effect that the U.S. Chargé d'Affaires ad interim in India had remonstrated with the Indian Ministry of External Affairs in Delhi about Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's campaign against the policy of destabilizing India pursued by outside forces, and the allusions to the United States made, albeit indirectly, in this connection.

The tension being built up since early this year by the internal opponents of the Indian National Congress (I) government persists. They are carrying on their attacks on Rajiv Gandhi and demanding his resignation. Behind these actions the Indian leadership is beginning to discern, ever more clearly, the hand of Washington, which is taking advantage of Delhi's political difficulties at home to complicate its foreign policy problems, discredit the Rajiv Gandhi government, and muffle the voice of the great Asian power in the international arena.

There seems to be a contradiction here: while "the most populous democracy," as India is referred to in the U.S., is coming under tough pressure from "the most industrialized democracy," the odious Pakistani regime remains a friend and "strategic partner" of Washington's. The reason for this ideological aberration lies in the dashing of the Reagan administration's hopes to subordinate India to American geopolitical interests.

Demonstration outside the U.S. Embassy in Delhi against American interference in Indian internal affairs.
From Patriot (India)

Despite Delhi's protests, the U.S. is rearming Pakistan, building up its military muscle out of all proportion to its reasonable defence needs, and indulging its nuclear ambitions. The matter of handing over spy planes equipped with AWACS early warning and control system to Islamabad has been all but clinched. The U.S. is encouraging Sikh separatists active in Punjab.

India is being subjected to economic pressure as well. The U.S.-controlled International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has prepared for the

-satellite weapon tests and then put forward other concrete proposals on disarmament.

The group of Six believes that to foster the implementation of its ideas it is necessary actively to help deepen the dialogue between the nuclear powers and advance the conclusion of corresponding agreements between them. They have called for consultations between their leaders and influential leaders of other nations, and for discussions of the disarmament issues in the U.N. The group is taking active steps to mobilize international public opinion.

The Soviet leadership responded positively to all the appeals of the Six. In his latest reply to the group, Mikhail Gorbachev noted: our approaches to principled questions of curbing the arms race, which today is matter of concern to all of mankind, effectively coincide.

The realistic proposals of the Six indicate that the new political thinking is gaining ground with the world public. Their voices are increasingly heeded in every corner of the world. Each of their meetings, each joint document they issue is a perceptible contribution to the struggle for a nuclear-free world.

GEORGY SHAPOVALOV

coming session of India's Western donor countries a report in which further aid to the country is linked with a number of terms offensive to any sovereign state.

Hence the demonstrations outside the U.S. embassy in Delhi demanding that Washington stop its anti-Indian campaign and proclaiming the nation's solidarity with the INC leadership.

In its hour of need, the Gandhi government is receiving foreign policy support from the Soviet Union. We have not been left alone to cope with the situation India has found itself in. Our true and tested friends are with us, Narayan Datt Tiwari, Minister of External Affairs, said on the occasion of the visit of Anatoly Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to India at the end of May.

The Rajiv Gandhi government, backed by the population and India's friends abroad, is determined to adhere to its consistent foreign policy line.

LEONID ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

Delhi

No more Pirciupises

The nazis burned down the village of Pirciupis on June 3, 1944 - a total of 119 people perished in the blaze. Some of the women took prayer books with them, and one little boy held an alphabet book. On the buckles of the nazis' belts were the words: "Gott mit uns" ("God with us").

After the liberation of Lithuania by the Soviet Army they started a new settlement there. The first thing they did was to build a school and a library. Today Pirciupis even boasts a museum.

The acts of vandalism perpetrated by the nazis in Leo Tolstoy's estate in Yasnaya Polyana, in Chekhov's house in Taganrog, and in places associated with the memory of Pushkin, live on in the memory of the Soviet people. The extermination of people and books has a long history, and it is our duty to know it.

There is a street called Ostland in the city of Oldenburg in West Germany. Ostland is the name the Third Reich gave the occupied Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.The nazis planned to wipe out the local population and germanize the territory. Implementing these plans they killed over a short period as many as 700,000 people in Lithuania alone.

The word "Ostland" appeals to the neofascists too. But perhaps the name of the street in Oldenburg has nothing to do with the past, or with neonazi aspirations? Perhaps, indeed, it is just a striking coincidence? No, there is no coincidence here.

It is no fortuity that the editorial office of the revanchist sheet Memeler Dampfboot is situated on Ostland street. "We are few," it writes, "but we have loud voices." Certainly they are making a lot of noise - about Memel, the Lithuanian port city so called by the nazis when they seized it. Memel is no longer, which is not to be regretted. Instead, there is Klaipeda, a large, cheerful city on the shores of the Baltic Sea. And there is Soviet Lithuania.

They do shout - but not just in Ostland Street; and they do not shout alone. Some Western leaders too are making attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of my republic. Do they want a repetition of the Pirciupis tragedy in my beautiful country?

You are unlikely to find anyone in the Soviet Union who has not heard of Doctor Aibolit, a wonderful man and a true friend of children. Few, however, know that there was a real doctor, Timofei Shabad, who lived in Vilnius, and who served as the prototype for the writer Kornei Chukovsky's hero. He treated the poor free of charge. When on October 21, 1905, tzarist troops opened fire at a peaceful demonstration in Vilnius, doctor Shabad unhesitatingly took the side of those who had come out in defence of their rights. He was arrested and jailed a few days later. During the revolutionary events of 1917-18 he rendered medical assistance to the fighters for Soviet power in Lithuania.

Both children and grownups were fond of him. They brought to him their ailing dogs, cats and pigeons.

When, during the Second World War, the nazis killed children in Lithuania, doctor Shabad was no longer there - he had died in 1935. To perpetuate his memory, the people erected a monument in a district of Vilnius - a bust with an inscription reading: "Doctor Shabad, the great friend of children." It was hidden soon after the occupation forces entered the city.

While working in the United States, I made the acquaintance of a man by the name of Shabad. He was a journalist like myself and worked for The New York Times. I told him the story and asked if he was not a relative of the doctor. He said yes, his relatives had at one time lived in Vilnius, and one of them was a well-known physician. "Don't you think," I said, "that you should - if only as a token of respect for the memory of this man - tell American readers of those who during the nazi occupation killed people in Vilnius, and have found refuge in the United States?" He said that would not help , for they had powerful patrons there.

Not a few war criminals who fled the U.S.S.R. live in the U.S., among them the Brazinskases. On October 15, 1970, they hijacked a Soviet airliner. In the ensuing skirmish air hostess, Nadezhda Kurchenko, died. She was buried in a park in Sukhumi. Looking at her grave one thinks of the crimes committed by the nazis. The Brazinskases were granted political asylum. So we say for everyone to hear: let's stop shouting about human rights, let's uphold them!

Albertas LAURINCIUKAS

Vilnius

The insane arms race condemned

From our special correspondent
SERGEI GOLYAKOV

In the heart of Stockholm, in the teeming concrete hub of the city where long underpasses and endless arcades converge, an elderly woman sits at a battered harmonium and sings of peace and accord among men.

Her songs are like ballads. They rebuke our indifferent, ruthless age which leaves less and less room for compassion and love. Time and again her songs ring out with the fortissimo of her call to consider the future, stop the headlong rush towards war and protect our planet from nuclear destruction.

On shelves beside the harmonium there are neat stacks of cassette recordings of more songs of the same kind and unpretentious Quaker booklets. But no passerby stops to buy any of them. People rarely slow down to listen to what the grey-haired woman sings. It is hard for a lone street singer to attract the attention of the perpetually hurrying crowd. A different kind of voice seems to be needed to break through the barrier of indifference, and switch people's attention from their daily concerns to the complex and dangerous developments of our time. A powerful, authoritative and collective voice. And it does neutral Sweden credit that such a voice constantly sounds under its sky. At the big marches of peace campaigners, at various national and international forums discussing the choice faced by our civilization - to be or not to be.

Swords and ploughshare

The conference of nongovernment organizations on the relationship between disarmament and development, held in the Swedish capital in mid-May, was one such event. The meeting's official theme sounds dry and unemotional. But behind it are the two most urgent problems facing virtually every country - large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear: disarmament and development. The world cannot contain both the arms race and all-round economic and social progress. The one precludes the other. It is only on ridding itself of the intolerable burden of armaments that mankind will obtain the resources so badly needed for creative purposes.

There is of course nothing new in this idea. It was succinctly expressed over twenty centuries ago in the Biblical appeal to beat swords into ploughshares. It is also to be found in the Charter of the United Nations Organization, which cites the agreement between member states "to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources."

But however strange it may seem today, when annual world military expenditures have soared to reach a trillion dollars while more than two thirds of the world's population suffer from permanent hunger, disease, illiteracy and poverty, the direct connection between the abundance of swords and the shortage of ploughshares is far from being universally recognized.

The differences of views on this score were especially manifest during preparations for the international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development which, on a decision of the 41st session of the U.N. General Assembly, is to be held in New York on August-September this year. The four sessions of the conference's preparatory committee held in recent years have clearly shown who favours switching military resources to peaceful aims and who is against. The line of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and non-aligned states is almost identical. They believe that a transition to taking vigorous steps to stop the arms race and reduce armaments is imperative for solving increasingly pressing global problems: the deterioration of man's natural environment, the search for new sources of energy, and efforts to overcome economic backwardness, hunger and disease. The principle of armaments instead of development, which has been imposed by militarism, should give way to the opposite - disarmament for development.

The trillion-dollar noose of debt now tightening round dozens of countries and whole continents is a direct result of the arms race. The more than 250 billion dollars that are annually pumped out of the developing countries are actually equal to the size of the U.S. military budget. And this is by no means a chance coincidence. Only disarmament will release huge material and intellectual resources and make it possible to use them for purposes of creativity, economic development and prosperity. Every step, every measure to limit and reduce armaments will not only bring greater security but will also make it possible to allocate more money to improve people's lives.

Other ideas prevail in the West. For those who continue to cling to the old political mentality and the club of nuclear deterrence, the interconnection between disarmament and development appears extremely problematic. Hence the desire to obscure and confuse it, to present matters in such a way as to make it seem possible that the arms race and socio-economic progress can proceed simultaneously.

To begin with, the country chiefly responsible for the arms race and the universally recognized leader in terms of size of military budgets, the United States, has refused to participate in the international conference altogether. As for its West

European allies, their philosophy is reflected in stark outline in, for example, the working document submitted to the latest session of the preparatory committee by the Belgian delegation on behalf of the 12 member states of the European Community. While recognizing in principle that there is a link between disarmament and development, the authors of the document introduce into the equation yet another element - security. Both disarmament and development are indispensable to strengthen security, which, they reason, is the apex of the triangle. This working document says that the right of states to security is inherent in their very existence and that consequently certain military expenditures are inevitable.

It is undeniable that security is sacred. But how is it to be understood? What is it to be linked with? With a reasonable sufficiency in defence potential or a further intensification of the arms race and its extension to outer space? The West obviously prefers the latter. Hence the conclusion: the progress of development should not be made hostage to progress in disarmament. It is wrong to view disarmament and development as reciprocally determining phenomena, it is believed in the West. Their final conclusion is that disarmament is not a panacea.

The positions, as we see, diverge. Moreover, they were formulated at government level and express the official point of view. And what about public opinion? What do ordinary Americans and Asians, Africans and Europeans think? It was the brief of the Stockholm conference of nongovernment organizations on the relationship between disarmament and development to provide the answer.

The only alternative

People of the most diverse political views, creed and colour filled the comfortable circular wood-panelled hall of one of the chambers of the Swedish Riksdag. Who do they represent? I read the names of the organizations on the delegates' blue cards: World Council of Churches, NGO Committee on Development, World Peace Council, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, World Conference on Religion and Peace, World Veterans Federation, Swedish Metal Workers Union, World Federation of United Nations Associations, International Union of Students, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Society for International Development, the Vienna-based International Institute for Peace and many, many others. Two hundred delegates. Fifty countries. An open democratic discussion.

Space does not permit me to cover the many questions that arose. Some concerned the purely practical issue of redistributing the resources released by disarmament measures. In the opinion of some experts these measures too will entail considerable expenditures. It was also mooted that the handing over of resources be started before the commencement of disarmament proper. For instance, a system of deductions from military budgets to developing countries could be introduced as a sort of "armaments tax." This is not really a rational idea. Implementing it would sever the link between disarmament and development. Besides, the developing countries themselves might become interested in the continuation of the arms race and the growth of the military budgets of their potential donors.

The conference welcomed all reasonable proposals aimed at reducing global military expenditures and using the resources thus made available to meet mankind's urgent needs. And such proposals were made. But the main thing that united virtually all the participants was the understanding of the baleful impact of the arms race on all fields of human activity - political, economic and humanitarian.

The present level of global military spending is four to five times higher than that of the first postwar years. Today it amounts to 6 per cent of world production and exceeds official assisstance to developing countries more than 25 times over. Throughout the 1980s, military spending has been rising much faster than the volume of world production. It has been estimated that since the early 1960s the arms race has absorbed 14 trillion dollars, whereas the volume of world production has increased over the same period by only 8.6 trillion dollars.

The arms race diverts tremendous material, manpower and scientific resources. The military industry uses more aluminium, copper, nickel and platinum than is used by all the African, Asian and Latin American countries put together. In 1981, more than 50 million people, or more than four per cent of the entire gainfully employed population of the planet, were employed in military production or serving in the armed forces.

This tremendous non-productive use of money and resources is in stark contrast with the ocean of human needs and suffering. Smallpox was stamped out ten years ago. The sum needed for this achievement would keep the arms race going for only three hours. The money spent to keep it going for half a day would be sufficient to cope with malaria, trachoma and leprosy, while ten per cent of the world's military expenditures would be sufficient to stamp out poverty worldwide.

But additional resources are not needed by the developing and poor countries alone. The arms race deforms the economies of major powers as well. The list of socio-economic needs is becoming increasingly impressive in the United States itself. According to data from the American council of state planning bodies, every fifth bridge in the United States needs to be replaced or drastically modernized. The Department of Transportation says this would cost 33 billion dollars. Another 75-110 billion dollars should be spent in the course of 20 years on water supplies to towns with populations of more than 50,000. Twenty-five billion are needed to keep reservoirs clean, while New York alone needs 40 billion dollars to improve its infrastructure.

It is maintained that only a strong economy can be a reliable foundation for national security, Inga Thorsson, a well-known Swedish expert on disarmament and development, said in her report. But the American economy is not strong. The arms race has already turned the world's richest country into one of the world's biggest debtors.

This cannot continue. Mankind cannot tolerate an overarmed and undernourished world. It has another choice - disarmament and development. But for this to become a reality a new political mentality must prevail, the understanding of the fact that in the nuclear age the genuine interests of national security have nothing to do with a policy that emphasizes military force. On encountering the threat to universal survival, we must just as universally safeguard our security - such were the main ideas that sounded from the rostrum of the conference.

I believe it is not all that important to name every speaker. There were many. Almost every participant in the conference contributed to the discussion. And the general feeling was expressed in the unanimously adopted statement which made the point that "there is no alternative to disarmament, general and complete, a final goal. There is no alternative to a just and participating development either. But both have to find their fulfilment in a New International Political, Economic, Social-Cultural and Humanitarian-Moral Order in which our common security will be based on mutual trust and cooperation rather than on weapons and mistrust. For no peoples or nations can regard themselves as free or secure as long as others are oppressed, exploited, or insecure."

These are impressive and just words, and they were said in response to the challenge posed by the manufacturers of death and their political representatives. They call on the world community to embark on a course leading to disarmament, justice and prosperity.

Stockholm

Man and the environment

Will our children's future be like what you see in this photo? One of the vital problems confronting mankind is the protection of the environment - and, consequently, of man himself. Below you will find a selection of features on ecological subjects, among them exclusive contributions from London's Panos Institute. The selection opens with a comment on the report by the World Commission on Environment and Development headed by Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway.

Set up as an independent body, the commission appears to have heard and learned a great deal about the links between environment and development. But it has failed to turn its own self--education into the criticism and analysis that is needed to have a real political and economic impact. Moreover, most of the recommendations of the Brundtland report will be familiar reading to those in the developing countries.

Nevertheless, it presents some refreshing ideas and contains valuable nuggets of truth. For instance, the report recommends both industrialized and developing countries to embrace the concept of sustainable development: using natural resources wisely to meet present needs, while not compromising the ability of future generations to meet theirs.

But at the same time it misses a few key targets. Take for example the austerity measures - which economists politely call "structural adjustments" - laid down by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as conditions for extending credit to meet the needs caused by the debt crisis.

Describing the measures as "particularly onerous," the report says that they have effectively cut back growth and slashed programmes in employment, health, education, environment and housing. Peasants have been forced back into subsistence agriculture which has caused further soil degradation. Government cutbacks in staff and expenditure have had severe impacts on fledgling, weak environmental agencies.

However, while attacking the IMF for causing such problems, the report ignores certain other culprits - such as those Third World governments and elites which have mortgaged precious natural resources to raise loans, and fritted away the proceeds to finance a boom in prestige projects and imported goods or to pay for armaments. The commission also ignores the fact that enormous sums have vanished in "capital flights." For instance, it has been estimated that between six and ten billion of the 26-billion-dollar debt of the Philippines is money exported by the Marcos family. And from 1979 to 1982, it is estimated that some 60 billion dollars were quietly sucked out of Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela alone.

The commission does not highlight the failure of many developing countries to take advantage of times when they were earning better prices for their exports - as Zambia was enjoying with copper in the 1970s. Despite profits in such times, very few funds were invested in projects aimed at improving the long-term productivity of natural resources.

Commenting on nuclear energy, the report highlights the health and environmental risks of nuclear accidents. Although it does not come out strongly against nuclear energy - as some wanted the commission to do - it is firm on the problem of nuclear waste disposal.

Pacific nations, which have described Japan as "a mansion without a toilet" for trying to dump nuclear wastes in the Pacific Ocean, will draw strength from recommendation that all countries that generate nuclear waste should dispose of it within their own territories or under strictly monitored agreements between states.

The commission also recommends that:

- Indigenous people will need special attention, as economic development disrupts traditional life-styles. In turn, such people can offer many lessons for managing complex forests, mountain and dryland regions.

- Slum dwellers should be provided with direct support to help them to improve their living conditions.

- More political and financial support shoul be given to national environmental agencies, and the U.N. Environment Programme should be strengthened.

- Governments must recognize that the deepening environmental crisis presents a threat to national security - and even the survival of nations. Already in parts of Latin America, Asia, the Middle East and Africa, environmental decline is becoming a source of major unrest and political tension.

A major lobbying and information campaign must start now if the money so far spent on the preparation of the report - 6 million dollars - is to be worthwhile. In fact, the real work of the commission has only just begun.

"Sarvodaya": no pills

A Buddhist-inspired local group in Sri Lanka called Sarvodaya (self-help) has taken on an enormous problem - that of reducing the million or so cases of malaria that occur in the country each year.

Along with many other parts of the world, Sri Lanka is suffering form the new generation of DDT-resistant mosquitos that developed after the great DDT campaigns of the 1950s. Modern mosquitos are also becoming resistant to malathion, the main insecticide now in use.

Sarvodaya rejects chemical sprays, and even the routine use of anti-malarial drugs, which have side effects. Amarishi Rao, who runs the Sarvodaya malaria project near the city of Anuradhapura, believes that a low level of malaria should be maintained as source of natural immunity. He cites as an example the village of Athungama, where 400 families of Tamil refugees from the north settled in 1985. Within a few months they were suffering a raging epidemic of malaria with over 900 acute cases, while the local population remained relatively healthy.

First, a map was drawn up showing all the mosquito breeding sites - ponds, ditches and puddles. Then it was decided what to do about every single site. Some would be filled in, others drained. A thin film of oil which spreads on the surface and drowns the air breathed by mosquito larvae would be tried on some. Another option was to introduce fish to gobble up on the larvae.

To implement all these plans, a shramadana, or voluntary day of work, was arranged. The organizers hoped 100 people would turn up. In fact 400 came, finished the prescribed work by mid-morning, and went on to build roads and dig wells. The shramadana is now repeated every month, malaria is again rare and living standards are improving.

The fittest is doomed

The Darwinian law of the survival of the fittest is often believed to warrant the triumph of strength and agility. However,

Progress.
Cartoon from Die Zeit (F.R.G)

evolution often gives preference to the slow, lazy and clumsy. The lion, "the king of beasts," hunts for antelopes and zebras, which can run as fast as 70 km/h, while the best it can do is 55 km/h.

Had fecund and powerful lions, capable of running as fast as antelopes, lived on earth millions of years ago, they would always have had enough to eat, and their population would have grown rapidly. At the same time, however, they would have promptly devoured their "neighbours in the ecological niche" and doomed themselves to hunger and extinction.

Such was the lot of the sabre-toothed tigers, scientists believe. Their fangs were perfect hunting weapons and made them too "efficient" to last. Over 35 million years, four sabre-toothed species emerged among felines only to die off shortly.

In the microworld, the situation is much the same. Myxoma virus found its way to Britain in 1953, killing 99 per cent of rabbits there within two years. In some parts of the country the more aggressive strains made a 100 per cent kill - and sealed their own fate as a result.

Incas' wonder-working cereal

Kiwicha - a cereal now found only in a few deserted valleys in the Peruvian mountains - was called "a secret weapon" and "devil's food" by Spanish conquerors. The colonialists wondered where the Indians, driven away from their fertile lands, drew their stength from. The riddle was solved by Spanish priests. They found that the indigenes fed on a "sacred grain" secretly grown in the mountains. A report to the viceroy said: "We shall never succeed in subduing these rebellious Indians for as long as they sustain themselves on grains the size of a pin-head," meaning kiwicha. The raising of this cereal was forbidden on pain of death.

Today kiwicha has been born anew. The Peruvian scientist Luis Sumar, a student of wild plants, detected these tiny-grained cereals, which are no longer cultivated. Indians told him that Incas highly valued kiwicha. Research into kiwicha grains revealed their amazing properties. According to Sumar, they slow down ageing, improve memory, strengthen nerves, cure stomach ulcers and TB. Kiwicha has a high protein content and is rich in substances essential to brain development. Using kiwicha grains, the English doctor Ann Goulden cured several children of cerebral disorders in the Peruvian town of Piura. The government has drawn up a plan to cultivate the Incas' "sacred grain" all over Peru.

Oil for dessert

How can we quickly deal with oil slicks, which are fatal to marine life? Some scientists suggest breeding new bacteria that feed on oil, but the problem is that seas vary in their chemical composition. So should the new bacteria be "custom-made" for every sea? Experts working for the French oil extracting company E.L.F.-Aquitaine have come up with a better idea: to use water-dwelling bacteria for the purpose. A special feed called Inipol - a mixture of nitrogen, phosphorus and carbon - has been developed for these bacteria to breed fast. The bacteria attack the new "delicacy" sprayed over an oil slick, and begin to grow and multiply rapidly. After the treat runs out, there is nothing for them but to help themselves to hydrocarbons! As a result, the oil slicks decompose four times quicker than usual.

Universal security: utopia or reality?

The Fourth International Information Meeting-Dialogue of representatives of anti-war organizations, sponsored by the Soviet Peace Committee, was held in Moscow in mid-May. The form of the meeting permitted a free and informal exchange of opinions on how different non-government movements and organizations could develop dialogue and interaction in the struggle to prevent nuclear catastrophe and bring about a universal system of international security.

A group of participants in the meeting came to the New Times office for a round-table talk.

New Times. We have here people representing different political parties and trends, members of parliament, researchers, members of peace organizations and journalists.

We would like you to express your opinion on several problems we believe to be important and timely. The first has to do with the prospects and substance of universal international security as an alternative to the present unstable peace based on nuclear deterrence.

The other issue is the role of public opinion and the anti-war movement. Can they exert an effective influence on governments and induce them to halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament?

Finally, the third question (we have to confine ourselves to just a few subjects) deals with the mass media. What, in your opinion, is their influence on the way in which the problem of disarmament is being tackled, how do they interact with the peace movement, and what is their attitude to anti-war slogans?

Andres Ortega. I think the main thing is not so much a nuclear-free world as stability. With regard to public opinion, I can't think of a single instance when it made any difference to defence policies. Peace movements campaigned against the deployment of American missiles in Europe. But the missiles were deployed.

Lasse Budtz. I want to look at the problem from another angle. Let me remind you of the words of the late Olof Palme: Europe should not be seen as a nuclear hostage to the superpowers. We have often discussed alternatives to the present system of East-West relations. Continued division into blocs cannot provide an answer to existing problems. The answer lies in creating a system of European security involving the countries of East and West. But until we have created such a system of universal security, there is no point in talking about a nuclear-free world. So, at this stage, a nuclear-free world is unfortunately just a beautiful dream. Nevertheless, we would welcome any agreements on nuclear disarmament between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. As regards Scandinavia, we shall back the idea of a nuclear-free zone. This will help to bring closer the dream of a world without nuclear weapons.

Frank Allaun. Even if we achieve deep cuts in nuclear arms, governments could retain a few warheads. And these would be capable of inflicting large-scale destruction. Britons, like the Soviet people, want peace. But they will not believe a government that declares that it will destroy its nuclear arsenals overnight. I am sure, however, that we can move in that direction step by step. Success in eliminating medium-range missiles in Europe would inspire those who have been disenchanted with the series of setbacks suffered by the anti-war movement. We could then say: "We have succeeded, let us move from here."

The main obstacles to agreements come from the U.S. Reagan and Thatcher stubbornly sabotage Gorbachev's proposals. This may occasion the following kind of thinking among the Soviet leadership: we have done everything we can, we have made major concessions, we cannot afford to jeopardize our security.

Eckhard Fischer. I would like to touch upon a different aspect of the problem. When Daimler-Benz bought AEG, specializing in arms manufacture, its capital trebled. What does that mean? It means that the policy of nuclear deterrence is inseparable from the economic mechanism of the Western countries, including the F.R.G. If we are to renounce the policy of intimidation there will have to be economic changes. Still, I am in favour of early steps indicating a commitment to reducing armaments. We think, however, in terms of creating an economic system that would enable politicians to make radical disarmament decisions.

Dan Smith. I prefer to be a realist on the matter of a nuclear-free world. Sometimes what looks at first glance like a fantastic idea turns out to be the most realistic one. Partial agreements such as, say, agreement on medium-range missiles, should be seen in the context of a long-term strategy. Such a strategy should aim at ending the state of confrontation. A lot of ideas towards that end are being discussed. For example, the idea of "non-provocative defence," of "defensive defence." These ideas are to a certain extent reflected by the present Soviet leadership. It is unrealistic to embark on anything unless you

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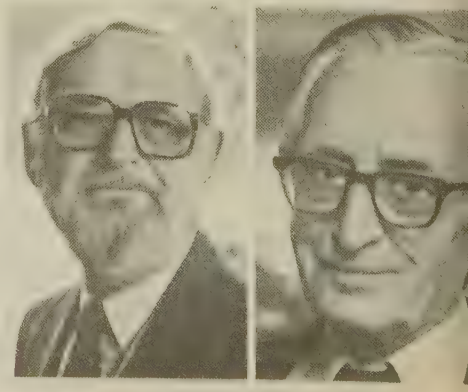
Lasse BUDTZ, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party's Commission on Security and Foreign Policy, Denmark, member of Parliament, SDPD representative in the Socialist International.

Frank ALLAUN, President, Labour Action for Peace, former chairman of the Labour Party of Great Britain, long-standing member of Parliament.



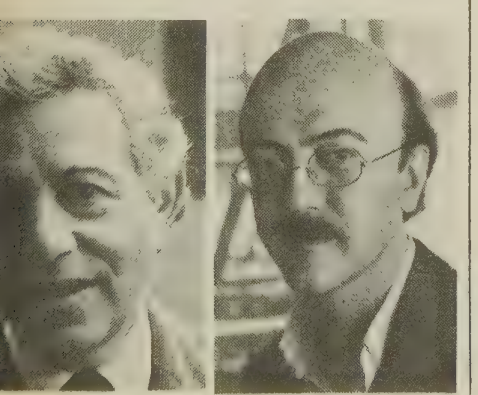
believe in success. I personally feel that Gorbachev sincerely believes in a nuclear-free world. And he does not confine the solution of that problem to the diplomatic sphere. He appeals to the intellect and feelings.

With regard to the second problem - the role of the public movement - my attitude is far from pessimistic. Think of the protest by Americans against the Vietnam war, and European protests against the neutron weapon. Think of the price NATO had to pay for deploying medium-range and cruise missiles in Europe. Consider the changes in public consciousness on environmental problems.

Jens Clausager. If we don't believe in a nuclear-free world ourselves, how can we convince the public of the need for nuclear disarmament? I agree with Dan that the public can influence political decision making. As one who represents a political party, I believe we must try to win over public opinion. True, sometimes the peace movements try to distance themselves from political parties. If they worked more closely with us, this would facilitate decision making. And the peace movements could have a greater impact on political life than today. Now for the third problem. During the congress of the peace forces in Copenhagen I observed the negative role of the mass media, West European journalists waged a well orchestrated campaign against the forum. But I can cite an example to the contrary as well. The newspapers are writing a great deal about the reforms and new processes at work in the Soviet Union. And this is attracting interest and a positive response.

Mark SOLOMON, professor of history from Boston, Co-Chairman, U.S. Peace Council.

Andres ORTEGA of the newspaper El Pais (Spain), expert on military matters.



Mark Solomon. To my mind, nothing is impossible. For instance, it never occurred to me that I would live to see the first man land on the Moon, or Nixon go to China, or the worst baseball team in the U.S. win the world tournament. So, everything is possible. It is important to know where you stand at a given moment to plan the next step. The strategy of deterrence may have played a positive role in the Nixon-Kissinger era, when the principle of parity gained recognition. But what do we have today? The U.S. response to the new, constructive, flexible policy of the Soviet Union is something more than deterrence: it is building up its arsenals in the hope of gaining superiority and developing a first-strike weapon. The people in the White House today have made the nuclear weapon an instrument of politics which they want to use to refashion the world to their liking. In the U.S. we see resources being channelled from all areas into the military area, and the military-industrial complex becoming more powerful than ever before. Unfortunately, a political majority aware of the danger of all these processes has yet to be formed in the United States. But some positive changes are taking place. American peace campaigners are increasingly aware of global problems - the creation of a universal system of international security, including a system that would eliminate nuclear deterrence and nuclear arsenals. These problems have become the subject of reflections, which is a positive sign in itself. In late June 1986, Randall Forsberg's Institute for Defence and Disarmament, the main independent research organization of its kind in my country, called a meeting of experts to discuss long-term disarmament strategy up to the year 2000. This strategy provides for intermediate steps - a nuclear test ban treaty, a ban on "star wars," etc. We can take heart from the fact that the peace movement has been joined by trade unions, which were formerly on the sidelines and even supported the Vietnam war. It is important that American public opinion has in recent years been less anti-Soviet. There has been change at the political level as well. Even before Reykjavik, a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives favoured a properly verified halt to nuclear tests with a yield of more than one kiloton, a ban on appropriations for all weapons exceeding the SALT-2 limits, a freeze on and reduction of funds for "star wars," and a ban on chemical and biological weapons. Although the President managed to have these points deleted from the budget bill, Congress has derived positive experience. The activity of such organizations as physicians and scientists for the prevention of nuclear war also helps to rally public opinion.

Jesus Rodes. Gorbachev's proposal on eliminating nuclear weapons in Europe is very interesting. But if the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. remove their nuclear forces, the question of conventional arms will take on added urgency. Effective ways must be found of involving European states in the solution of these problems, perhaps through negotiations at the European level.

As for the role of public opinion, I am something of a pessimist. The authorities possess enormous technological potential for manipulating it. Take, for example, Spain. The population was against membership of NATO. However, the government used the mass media to decide the question in favour of entry.

Frank Allaun. Can peace movements influence governments? My feeling is yes, they can. I do not share the pessimistic view. Here is only one example. Mrs Thatcher throughout her political career has been noted for her sharply anti-Soviet pronouncements. And then, a few weeks before the general elections, she goes to Moscow. Her aim is not to reach concrete agreements but to demonstrate her friendly attitude to the Soviet leadership. She follows the results of opinion polls and knows that British people like Gorbachev and that most of them favour unilateral disarmament for their country. Incidentally, this balance of opinion emerged as a result of peace campaigns. My American colleague has referred to anti-Sovietism. This phenomenon can be observed in Britain too. I can't help recalling Thomas Mann's words that anti-communism is "the biggest folly of our era." In general, I am convinced that the peace movement in Britain has had a great impact on social attitudes.

Lasse Budtz. Unfortunately, the past year or two has seen a slackening in anti-war action in Denmark. This is bad. We need public support for the idea of a nuclear-free zone. Its advocates in parliament need public support. It would be wonderful if peace activists brought pressure to bear on the leadership of our party through its rank-and-file members. This could be very effective. But those who reject membership of a political party should keep up their efforts to promote their ideas.

As far as the mass media are concerned, 96-97 per cent of the daily papers in my country are hostile to the peace movement. Besides, newspapers often misrepresent the political situation. True, the Danish press finds something fresh in the current Soviet proposals. But it continues to question the motives

behind Moscow's proposals. Of course, Soviet newspapers are also sometimes biassed in covering events in the West. There is work to be done on both sides.

Andres Ortega. You spoke of doubts. As a journalist I too have doubts about what stands behind the Soviet proposals.

Lasse Budtz. No one denies your right to doubt. I take a critical view even of what the chairman of my own party says. But you cannot automatically query everything that comes from Moscow.

Eckhard Fischer. I would like to speak about public opinion and the peace movement. If we look back, there are some lessons to be drawn. For instance, the understanding that the security interests of Western Europe are not automatically the same as those on the other side of the Atlantic. This has brought a dramatic change in public opinion. It failed to prevent the deployment of new American nuclear missiles on the continent. But it was then that a new approach and new thinking on NATO emerged. Do we need a military alliance with a single strategy and with such disparate interests? Is a single military strategy possible if security interests are so different? Many people have become aware of the need for change inside NATO in order to unite the differing interests of West Europeans and Americans in an overall security system. My party was among those who began to elaborate a strategy based on equal security for all, including the so-called "enemy." A system in which the security of one depends on the security of the other. I have already mentioned the economic difficulties entailed by disarmament. But economics can be a lever as well as a brake. Trade could help create a European peace order which cannot rely solely on defence.

N.T. We would like to put another question to you. From your experience, do you think the peace movement can oppose the race in conventional arms as resolutely as that in nuclear ones and what should be done to educate public opinion in that direction?

Mark Solomon. It would be wonderful if we tackled the conventional arms problem and started looking for acceptable concepts in this area of defence: for example, the theory of "territorial defence" and "adequate defence." The mass media, of course, have an important role to play in this.

Dan Smith. Can the issue of conventional weapons generate the same mass movement as the anti-nuclear movement of recent years? My answer is no. Conventional weapons may find a place in the platforms of political parties, but it would take time for the idea to win people's minds. On the issue of nuclear arms, people are concerned with the human aspect, while conventional weapons are not usually seen from this angle.

Frank Allaun. First, we have to seek cuts in nuclear weapons. This would release colossal resources for constructive purposes, creating more jobs and social programmes. Then, we should concentrate on adopting the concept of "non-aggressive defence," with the emphasis on anti-aircraft systems and not on planes, on anti-tank weapons and not on tanks.

Another thing. We have spoken about the role of the press and the military-industrial complex. I should say that we have a military-industrial-propaganda complex. The Soviet moratorium offers an example in point. The British press ignored it for 18 months. But on the day tests were resumed all the newspapers announced it under banner headlines. Another example is the congress in Copenhagen, which was either ignored or distorted by the press in Denmark, and in Britain too. I am confident, though, that we will win the battle with the press and for the press. Because in the final count, what is going on in real life has a far greater impact on people. The mass media can delay awareness of nuclear-age realities, but they cannot prevent it.

Lasse Budtz. When we talk about rallying public opinion against the race in conventional arms we must bear in mind that people have learned to live with them. Many feel that some quantity of conventional weapons will do no harm. But we can and must develop a theory of "passive," "non-aggressive" defence. Experts in my party have come up with a whole programme on that front. We have discussed it with some East European countries.

N.T. It is not our intention to make any formal summaries of our discussion. It has been an informal exchange of opinion. And besides, we would not be able to cover all the ground. Indeed, it has not been our aim to cover every aspect and formulate clear-cut positions. We have taken advantage of the Moscow meeting to initiate a serious and lengthy conversation on a universal system of peace and international security, and the role of the peace movements, and the mass media in elaborating this project.

We would like to make a few short remarks on some of the ideas aired here.

When we talk about the prospects for a world without nuclear weapons, we are

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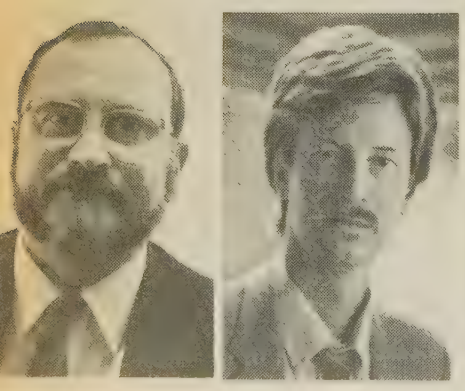
Jesus RODES, General Secretary, Catalonian Peace Council; professor, Barcelona University.

Dan SMITH, Vice-Chairman, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Great Britain, strategy researcher.



"The Olympic Charter outlaws political, racial and religious discrimination," said Vitaly Smirnov. "The Republic of South Africa was expelled from the family of Olympic nations at the IOC session in Amsterdam in 1970. Still earlier, as a result of vigorous action in defence of Olympic principles by independent African states, supported by representatives of the U.S.S.R. and other countries, the IOC withheld their invitation to the 1964 Tokyo Olympics from South African teams selected on a racist principle. And the South African flag has not to date been raised over an Olympic stadium.

"I would like to note that the stand of the IOC and Soviet representatives in international sports federations, concerning contacts with South Africa, is absolutely clear. It is: no sports ties with the apartheid regime. We firmly held to this stand even when the International Lawn Tennis Federation, for instance, was flirting with South African sports organizations.

"Unfortunately, the Pretoria regime has influential patrons in the West. In view of this, the IOC and international sports federations, most of which have also expelled South Africa, must not relax their vigilance in protecting the Olympic ideal."

It is well known that a certain number of Western athletes are continuing to

Eckhard FISCHER, Social Democratic expert in the Bundestag, coordinator of the European Nuclear Disarmament movement in the F.R.G.

Jens CLAUSAGER, Secretary-General, Danish Radical Party, member of Parliament.

Photos by V.Panov

not being utopian. Like many of you, we feel we must work towards this goal for the sake of the survival of mankind, and indicate realistic paths towards that goal. Something must replace the present dangerous and precarious balance of nuclear missiles. Our country has proposed a basis for an international system that would guarantee equal security for all people and include four components - political, military, economic and humanitarian.

Some interesting ideas on that score have been put forward during the course of these conversations. They include "defensive," or "non-provocative" defence, "alternative," i.e., non-nuclear defence, and a reasonable sufficiency of military potential. These ideas merit serious discussion, at nongovernment level and in the mass media as well.

We have heard today both optimistic and pessimistic views on the possible impact of public opinion and the mass media on decisions made by governments. Granted, the peace movements do not always succeed in having their demands fulfilled. But even if governments take these demands into account only partially, this is no small thing. We could add another instance of the impact of public action to those that have already been mentioned here: Reagan's "zero option" was a direct response to mass protests against the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

As for the Soviet leadership, its recent foreign policy initiatives provide eloquent proof of the attention it pays to world public opinion, as well as to the viewpoints of political parties and the non-aligned movement.

As regards the mass media, we see that the picture here is none too promising. But we should work together to achieve a breakthrough. This poses a tremendous challenge to journalists. We in our magazine are trying to set a good example.

We thank you for joining us in this round table and hope to enjoy regular cooperation with you and your colleagues in the future.

Interviewers: EVGENY ANDRIANOV, ALEXANDER LEBEDEV, GALINA SIDOROVA, and NIKITA ZHOLKVER

EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium has ratified the International Convention Against Apartheid in Sports signed by the Soviet Union on May 16, 1986, in New York. As many as 125 countries approved the convention at the 40th session of the U.N. General Assembly. Since then 68 of them have signed the convention. Our correspondent Igor Marinov asked VITALY SMIRNOV, chairman of the Russian Federation's State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport, and member of the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee, to summarize the events leading up to the adoption of the Convention Against Apartheid in Sports.

Sport and apartheid are incompatible

maintain contacts with South African racist organizations, despite the decisions of the IOC, international sports federations, and United Nations resolutions.

"Deplorably, such cases do occur. The Pretoria authorities tempt certain athletes to collaborate with them with high remuneration and lavish gifts. The International Convention Against Apartheid in Sports is increasing the accountability of those countries where up to now a blind eye has been turned to such contacts, in particular the so-called 'piratic tours' of athletes to South Africa."

South Africa's Foreign Minister Roelof Botha recently addressed the International Union for Modern Pentathlon and Biathlon to request its permission once again for South African athletes to compete in its contests. He argued that the situation in sport had normalized in South Africa. What is the real position?

"Attempts to win back legal standing in international sport by the Republic of South Africa have been made more than once since the slogan of 'making its image more attractive' was advanced by Pretoria in the late 1960s. A letter from South Africa requesting that Olympic powers and rights be restored to it was addressed to the recent IOC session in Istanbul. A similar request was made to the Moscow session of the IOC seven years ago. The committee answered that it did not have the information that would enable it to judge whether there had been any radical reforms in the apartheid system in sport. The IOC confirmed this stand with regard to South Africa at its session in Istanbul.

"South African schools, colleges and universities remain segregated. There are separate stands for different races at stadiums in South Africa, and almost 90 per cent of sports facilities in South Africa are still for whites only. As for some sports clubs for whites admitting representatives of the native population, this is a token concession, as most Africans cannot afford the membership fees for such clubs. Selecting nonwhite athletes for the Republic of South Africa's national teams is likewise merely a political gimmick, as equality for Africans ends as soon as a match or competition is over.

"There can be no place for apartheid and racism in sport." ■

38th parallel

Report from the demilitarized zone

Already in Kaesong, which is six hours by train from Pyongyang, we could hear sounds like remote clapping. In Panmunjon, situated twelve kilometres to the south, right on the dividing line between North and South, the clapping was much louder. Team Spirit, the large-scale joint military exercise of the South Korean and U.S. forces, was in progress. It involved the latest military hardware, as Seoul television programmes I watched in Kaesong proudly reported. The exercise is designed to try out different scenarios for attacking the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Team Spirit-87, the twelfth exercise of the name, was the longest ever. Units stationed in U.S. bases outside South Korea had been moved to the south of the peninsula long before the official start of the exercises. As in previous years, the manoeuvres involved the 40,000-strong U.S. contingent deployed at bases in Korea. But unlike previous years, Team Spirit-87 also involved some units of the Japanese Self-Defence Forces, bringing the total number of troops involved to 200,000. The aim of the large-scale manoeuvres is to raise the political temperature in the peninsula. Thanks to the Pentagon, the southern part of the peninsula has already beaten all records for saturation with nuclear weapons, of which there are more than a thousand units. There is one per less than 100 square kilometres of South Korean territory.

This is playing with fire in both the literal and the figurative sense.

Why are there no negotiations?

In the company of First Lieutenant Li Jong Ho we visited one of the blue wooden houses through which the border runs. A negotiation table stands smack in the centre of the room. The cord of the microphone in the centre of the table is the actual boundary between the two parts of Korea.

For many years the D.P.R.K. has been making vigorous efforts to bring about negotiations between North and South. Again and again it has presented new proposals in search of mutually acceptable decisions. One proof of the profound interest of the Workers' Party of Korea in seeing the reunification of the country was the proposal for a confederated state put forward by the Party's General Secretary Kim Il Sung at the Party's 6th Congress in 1980. He stressed: "From the liberation of the country to this day different social systems have existed in the North and South, dominated as they are by different ideologies. In these conditions, to achieve national consolidation and unification, neither side should seek total recognition of its ideology and social system by the other. If North and South seek, each in their own way, to secure absolute recognition of their ideology and system and impose them on the other side, this will inevitably entail confrontation and conflict, which would in turn lead to a still deeper divide. Because the whole nation is unanimous in regarding reunification of the country as the greatest goal, differences of ideology and social system need not preclude the reunification of the country. People with different ideologies can live together in one country and different social systems can coexist within one state. It is by no means our intention to impose our ideology and system on South Korea. We shall put everything to the service of the cause of national consolidation and the unification of the country.

"In seeking the reunification of the country, our Party proposes to create a confederated republic within which, on the basis of the mutual recognition of the ideologies and systems existing in the two zones, North and South will form a united national government made up on an equal basis of representatives of North and South, under whose administration North and South, which will have equal powers and duties, will each exercise regional self-government.

"It would be practicable to establish, within a united confederated state, a supreme national confederated assembly with equal numbers of representatives from North and South, and a certain number of our compatriots living abroad, and to form a standing confederated committee under this assembly to direct the regional governments of North and South and have responsibility for all the affairs of the confederated state."

Every Korean knows that the name Korea derives from Koryo, a powerful state that existed between the 10th and 14th centuries. The suggestion of this as

Joint U.S.-South Korean Manoeuvres

Year	Number of troops involved (including U.S.) in thous.	Duration
1976	46(8)	10 days
1977	87(13)	15 days
1978	118(45)	17 days
1979	140(56)	18 days
1980	160(54)	50 days
1981	161(61.5)	69 days
1982	169(61.6)	73 days
1983	191.7(73.7)	75 days
1984	207.5(60)	76 days
1985	200(*)	from February to mid-April
1986	200(60)	From February 10 to April 25
1987	200(65**)	From February 19 to mid-May

* - no data available
** - estimate

Unlike tourists, American servicemen are admitted to Freedom House free of charge.

the name of the confederated republic indicates the desire to establish a powerful and prosperous state in the peninsula. The proposal put forward by the D.P.R.K. leader was extremely detailed in character. It contained ten points outlining the future political course of the Republic of Koryo.

The republic would adhere to the principle of self-reliance and pursue an independent policy in all areas of productive activity. It is called upon to ensure democracy all over the country and in all social spheres and to promote national consolidation. It is called upon to establish economic cooperation and exchanges between North and South, and to ensure the independent development of the national economy. It is necessary to organize cooperation between North and South in the field of science, culture and education and to develop science, technology and national culture in accordance with a single plan. Restoring transport and communication links between North and South is another task. The republic is called upon to concern itself with the welfare of the working people. The state of military confrontation between North and South should be ended and a united national army formed to protect the nation from external aggression. The rights of compatriots living abroad would also be upheld by the confederation. The Republic of Koryo should come up with a sound solution to the question of the ties established by North and South with foreign countries before unification. It should coordinate the activity of the two regional governments in the international arena. The tenth, and last, point stressed that Koryo, as a single state representing the whole nation, should promote friendly relations with all the countries of the world and pursue a foreign policy of peace.

Admittedly, some provisions in the programme are somewhat declarative in character. Certainly, the proposed confederation has no precedent in history. But on the whole, the main thrust of the idea is to bring North and South closer together.To any impartial political or public leader with grasp of the situation in the peninsula, these proposals do offer a platform for reunification negotiations. Unfortunately, the South Korean side has failed to show a sincere interest in resolving this cardinal issue. Instead of concrete steps to meet the other side, it is taking steps backward, or at best, sideways. Seoul's initiative on the simultaneous entry of the D.P.R.K. and the Republic of Korea (South Korea) into the United Nations is hardly likely to prove productive. It is by no means conducive to early reunification.

In response to the D.P.R.K.'s repeated demands that Washington stop interfering in Korean affairs, Seoul readily takes part in annual joint military manoeuvres Team Spirit (see table) and in answer to the recent peace initiatives of the North, in particular on bilateral high-level talks, South Korea unleashed a slanderous campaign. The mass media have taken up the crazy idea that Pyongyang has a diabolical plan to flood the South Korean capital. It is alleged that a reservoir is being built for the purpose north of the 38th parallel. The fact that the reservoir is being built for the Kumgangsan power plant now under construction is discounted. What matters is to foster mistrust, and represent People's Korea as an aggressive state trying to make things difficult for the South in every possible way.

"Water strike" bogey

There are many loose ends in these propaganda theories. Let us consider two sides of the same coin, to wit, flooding, a constant source of anxiety in South Korea. Pak Yong Su, Assistant President of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Country, filled in the background for us.

In 1984 South Korea was hit by the worst flood for 300 years, which claimed 500 dead and left about 300,000 people homeless. The D.P.R.K. government offered relief aid to the disaster victims. The offer was conveyed through the Red Cross Committee and the South Korean authorities, probably fearful of a flareup of discontent, accepted the aid. Even so, they tried to play their game: they demanded that all the food and other relief be handed over within one week. Apparently the calculation was that the D.P.R.K.'s economy could not meet such harsh deadlines. But these proved to be vain hopes. Strictly on schedule, 7,300 tons of rice, 100,000 tons of cement, 150,000 metres of textiles and large amounts of medical supplies were dispatched to the South.This disinterested gift alleviated the plight of thousands of victims. And now, taking advantage of people's fear of flooding, Seoul is whipping up the myth that the North is preparing to target a "water strike" on the South Korean capital. While this "strike" is entirely imaginary, the strikes of the U.S. airforce planes involved in Team Spirit and the exploding shells are very real. Among the casualties of these manoeuvres are the economic talks between North and South, begun in Panmunjon in 1984, and the preliminary stage of the talks between the respective Red Cross societies. The words of the participants in these meetings were, figuratively speaking, drowned by the roar of American military hardware as another large-scale military exercise got under way. The negotiations were thus disrupted. The same fate was in store for the new round of contacts begun in 1985: it was discontinued in February 1986 for the same reason.

Last April, quite literally amid the rumble of gunfire, the South sent its reply to the latest message from Pyongyang. Again it made it clear that Seoul, far from inclining to high-level negotiations, does not even wish to conduct consultations at ministerial level to prepare for the meeting (as proposed in a letter from the D.P.R.K.leadership on March 30).

Concern about ending the partition of the country and bringing about the reunification of the nation permeates the fabric of social and political life in People's Korea. It forms the core of the Party's foreign policy. The Committee for Peaceful Reunification of the Country and the Red Cross are working persistently in this direction. Vigorous efforts to the same end are being exerted by the United Democratic Fatherland Front, which brings together all political and social organizations. As Ho Song Hi, the Front's executive, told us, one of the Front's main tasks is to work for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea, the democratization of the South, the peaceful reunification of the country, and to involve in this struggle all compatriots living in the peninsula and abroad.

The negotiation table in the blue house on the 38th parallel is deserted. We sit down at the table to have our pictures

Lieutenant Colonel Kam Ho Suk: "But for the mist you would have seen American nuclear bases."

taken. Some day they may be of historical interest. That will be when the 38th parallel is no different from the 37th and 39th, when the country is united.

A "double-bottomed wall"

We emerge from the house and become aware of activity a few yards away on the other side. A pagoda-like observation platform is crammed full of American servicemen. There are about fifty of them, and a good half of them have their cameras trained on us. The pagoda, which bears the pretentious name of Freedom House, brings in a steady profit: 16 dollars per person is charged for permission to climb it and look at the other side. American officers and men can enjoy this luxury for free. They feel like masters here.

Meanwhile, First Lieutenant Li Jong Ho tells us that under the agreement each side is allowed to have 5 officers and 30 men on the dividing line. The Americans, however, are constantly exceeding that number and keeping more than fifty servicemen at a time. They often behave provocatively: they take aim at our borderguards with their guns and blind us with searchlights.

Since 1953 there have been amost half a million violations of the armistice agreement by the American side. Last February alone 7,700 violations were registered.Between January and March American reconnaissance planes encroached on D.P.R.K. air space more than 30 times.

The most shocking thing was shown to us by Lieutenant Colonel Kam Ho Suk near the village of Gukhwa not far from Kaesong. Through a telescope installed in a reinforced concrete observation platform, we could see a powerful wall erected by the Americans on the other side of the demarcation line. On it flew a blue U.N. flag. The concrete wall is 6 metres high and 10 metres wide at the base and two metres wide at the top. Its length is 240 kilometres. That is, it stretches all along the demarcation line between North and South, with a 17-kilometre break near Panmunjon so as not to attract the attention of the representatives of international organizations and delegations visiting the place. The precaution is well justified : the wall is a crude violation of the armistice agreement, which forbids any construction in the region (the Americans also violate the ban on bringing weapons into the area even deploying heavy artillery). Those who erected the concrete wall argue that it is a purely defensive structure, and claim that American and South Korean troops are concerned only about defence against aggression from the North.

If this is so, said Kam Ho Suk, why then does the wall have heavy metal gates. These are 3.2 metres high and 4.2 metres wide, which would allow a modern tank through, he explained. By the way, he added, if it weren't for the mist today you could see American nuclear bases. He was silent and again we heard the distant sound of gunfire. On the other side of the wall they are practising firing.

VLADIMIR ZHITOMIRSKY
and LEONID MLECHIN
our special correspondents

Panmunjon - Pyongyang - Moscow

Photos by authors

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

HARRI HOLKERI

Harri Holkeri, a representative of the National Coalition Party (NCP) who has become the head of the new government of Finland, was born on January 6, 1937, in Oripää, southwestern Finland. He left University in 1962, with a master's degree in the science of government.

In 1959, he became secretary of Young Coalitionists' Union (YCU) and later, the YCU secretary for information.

From 1962 to 1964 he was secretary of the National Coalition Party for Information, and then, Secretary for Research. From 1965 to 1971, Holkeri was secretary-general of the National Coalition Party and editor-in-chief of its official organ Nykypäivä. From 1971 to 1979 he was chairman of the NCP.

In 1978 Holkeri became a member of the board of directors of the Bank of Finland.

In 1970 he was elected to Parliament. From 1971 to 1978 he held the post of chairman of Parliament's banking commission. Harri Holkeri is a member of the Central Board of the Finland-U.S.S.R. Society, and chairman of the Helsinki Municipal Council.

Last year, the NCP nominated Harri Holkeri to run for the presidency in the 1988 presidential elections.

In his public statements, Harri Holkeri pledges support for the country's current foreign policy - the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, and for the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 1948.

The "case" of Aldo Moro - the prominent politician and statesman, chairman of the ruling Christian Democratic Party, murdered by Red Brigade gunmen in 1978 is again under investigation in Italy. All previous inquiries have failed to provide the answer to the most important question: who was behind the crime!

The agent flees through Vicenza

LEV MAKAREVICH

About a day before the execution Aldo Moro realized they were going to kill him.

On the evening of May 8, 1978, he sat down to write a farewell letter to his wife, Eleonora Moro. "Noretta darling," he wrote, "another try, and then - a prayer as I breathe my last..."

At daybreak of May 9, the prisoner was given back the clothes he had worn on March 16, 1978 - the day of his abduction in Rome's Via Fani. It was a signal for him to get ready for a "ride."

Moro didn't feel like eating that morning. Over the 55 days he had spent in the Red Brigades' captivity he hadn't had much appetite and had lost six kilos. His broken ribs (the result of torture) made breathing and swallowing agony.

The prisoner was led out of his cell, stowed in the boot of a red Renault, and covered with an orange plaid rug. Then the executioner shot the CDP Chairman dead at point-blank range from the back seat of the car.

Eleven bullets pierced the left side of Moro's chest. "A burst of submachine gun fire into the heart," to quote newspaper reports. It wasn't a burst, really. Ten shots were fired from a 7.65-mm Beretta, and a 9-mm Colt gave the victim the "coup de grace."

The shooting was done at short intervals by someone utterly ruthless.

A purple blotch 18 cm long and 13 cm wide appeared on Moro's shirt. His left hand which he had instinctively raised to shield himself, was punctured in two places.

The wounds were neatly plugged with handkerchiefs.

The body bled slowly but profusely. About a litre of blood oozed out altogether. Aldo Moro did not die instantly. His death throes lasted about fifteen minutes, but he felt no pain. He was unconscious.

Those who were behind the terrorists, who masterminded the action to eliminate the CDP leader, were never named either at the trial of RB members, or during a special parliamentary inquiry.

Aldo Moro himself had guessed where the inspirers of his abduction were to be looked for. "This tough stand on my case probably comes from American or West German pressure," he wrote from a Red Brigade dungeon on April 10, 1978 concerning the unwillingness of his party colleagues to negotiate his salvation with the terrorists.

His guess was not far removed from the truth. The politicians classified in the U.S. political bestiary as hawks manifestly hated him for many reasons: for his cooperation with the Italian Communist Party; for his striving for détente and better relations with Moscow; for his moves to expand links with Arab countries and with the Palestine Liberation Organization; for his attempts to uphold Italy's independence from the United States, which habitually looks on the Old World as Big Brother America's backyard.

The subject of the trans-Atlantic secret services being involved in the assassination of the CDP leader is still taboo in Italy. Not a single investigator has ventured to follow up the American trail, or even to look that way. Will any of them make up their minds this time? Enough evidence has surfaced over the past nine years to warrant ignoring the tacit taboo of unknown origin.

A soldier in the secret war

Word came from the Antilles that Ronald Stark was dead....

This American had left a bad memory in Italy. He was the first U.S. citizen to be officially charged with forming armed gangs - an offence by no means common among foreigners - on the grounds of his close association with the Red Brigade chiefs.

A veil of secrecy drawn over the Stark affair kept the facts pertaining to his involvement with the Red Brigades out of the public eye for a long time. Today we can reconstruct these facts, if only in general outline. Whatever little has transpired is enough to shed additional light on the methods of America's secret war in Italy.

In the sixties, Stark kept company with California hippies and was befriended by Timothy Leary, the poet and the "LSD ideologist" who advanced the slogan "Spreading drugs is a mission."

Stark wasn't popular with the FBI, which kept a bulky file on him as a hallucinogenic drug trafficker. The file described Ronald Stark as a "white, five--feet-eight, 180-pound, chestnut-haired, brown-eyed male born in New York on April 9, 1938" (F B I No.812020 E, S/S No. 053-30-3865).

The first indication of who the flower children's best friend was employed by appeared in an FBI card of September 24, 1962, which bore his "application to work for the government of the United States." In 1970, the New York State police booked him again, this time for the production on an almost commercial scale of LSD in a bootleg laboratory. His clientele was the same: hippies, tramps, drug-addicts. In the record of his re-trial by a court of appeal, we find a phrase that rings familiar: "The witnesses' testimony given in the laboratory case hearing presented Stark in a strange light. He had introduced himself to many as a don, a chemist, a millionaire and an agent of the American government's secret service."

The "drugs-hippies-secret service" combination immediately brings to mind the CIA's top-secret experiments in manipulating the human psyche by means of LSD and other drugs (Programmes Artichoke, MK-Ultra, MK Search) with flower children, among others, used as guinea pigs. Was it to provide "experimental material" that Stark was "planted" among them?

For all we know, he might have been used in another Langley operation - that of black marketing, through the Mafia, large amounts of dope in the period when the opposition of young people to the Vietnam war was at its peak. The idea was to discredit the anti-war movement, to sterilize the protest of its political content.

Those years saw the first beginnings of the CIA's drug business, unexpectedly exposed by the recent Iran-contras scandal. Is it a fortuity that many of the

present Red Brigade men push heroin as a sideline, under Langley's vigilant eye? But let's get back to Stark....

In 1971, the "don" moved to Europe - first to Belgium. Having drawn 300,000 dollars from a numbered Swiss bank account (depositor unknown), he invested the money in another laboratory for the production of potent drugs from Mexican fungi (Laboratoires le Clocheton, 1300 Bois de Lauzelle, Wavre).

The American authorities never lost sight of Stark. Charles Adams of the U.S. Embassy in London regularly sent him letters, each opening with an almost tender "Dear Ron...." Enclosed were cheques for large sums.

In 1972, two American intelligence agents called on Stark's lawyer in Paris, whereupon the "don" extended the scale of his activity sharply - first, to Holland and Italy, and subsequently to the Middle East. In Lebanon, his interests were divided between the Bekaa Valley with its opium poppy fields, and the Palestinians.

1973 was the year of the fourth Arab-Israeli war. In Beirut, Stark tried to find his way into the retinue of Imam Moussa Sadr , who then headed the Shiite movement. Sadr and his contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization interfered with Washington and Tel Aviv, who resorted to involved intrigues against him. A few years later - on August 31, 1978 - Sadr died under mysterious circumstances.

The year 1974 found Stark in Milan seeking contacts with "extreme left-wing" terrorists, who were gradually crowding out neofascists after the latter had failed to check the growth of the Communists' influence in Italy - even with threats of putsches.This influence continued to grow and add to Washington's profound dismay at the difficulties NATO was then experiencing and the problems the U.S. had come up against in Europe.

Having changed from a respectable three-piece suit into a hippy outfit of T-shirt and jeans, the "quiet American" would slip out of the plush hotel he was staying in and "crawl" peripheral pubs patronized by drug-addicts and leftists.

In order to ingratiate himself with the "alchemists of the Revolution," the Yankee boasted of his connections with foreign terrorist organizations, suggested fantastic plans for setting "prisoners of capitalism" free, and recruited the men most suited to his purposes.

In 1975, Bologna police, tipped off by undisclosed informers (rival Mafia clans, as the newspaper Giorno later surmised) arrested the "chemist" at the fashionable Grand Hotel Baglioni for drug smuggling.

In January 1976, Alberto Mattioli, chief of the Bologna police department's investigation service, toured Belgium, Holland and Lebanon on the instructions of his superiors, with a photograph of Ronald Stark in his pocket. His mission was to find out all he could about the man.

Back home, Mattioli handed over to judges a wealth of evidence incriminating the American. One of the connections was traced back to Chowcat El Masri, a Lebanese drug producer and trafficker notorious in the Middle East. Investigation had made slow progress. Mattioli had to fight his way along a veritable obstacle course, unassisted by the local authorities. In Lebanon, the detective was very nearly shot dead.

Group 14

What about Ronald Stark? Strange things happened to the captive millionaire: from time to time he was transferred from one city to another. In December 1976, he found himself in a Pisa prison cell, but hardly had he made himself at home there when another inmate was escorted in. By sheer chance, of course - this is a small world! - the man turned out to be Renato Curcio, the founder of the Red Brigade and its "historic leader."

There's nothing like a few poker games played on the W.C. seat cover to draw two decent people together. Having posed as a Palestinian named Ali Khouri, the American wormed himself into the terrorist's confidence - so much so that the latter came to regard Stark as his bosom friend.

In April 1977 the prison in Bologna was packed with the left-wingers who had committed outrages in the city - the "stronghold of the Communist Party" - for the whole of the previous month, during riots of young people. Stark felt in his element among them. He suggested ideas for a getaway, and supplied his cellmates with addresses of military camps in the Middle East.

In a few months, Stark had become the key link between terrorists behind bars. All the information they exchanged among themselves and with their "colleagues" at large and in other jails went through him.

In 1978, the Communist Party was preparing to join, with Aldo Moro's support, the parliamentary majority the governmnent proposed to lean on. One after another sinister warnings issued from the U.S. and NATO.

On the morning of March 16, 1978, the Red Brigades abducted Aldo Moro on his way to parliament, which on that day was to give a vote of confidence to the Communist-backed national solidarity government.

He was openly hated by the CIA.
From Europeo (Italy)

Ronald Stark followed the progress of the search for Aldo Moro closely, trying to glean the maximum information from newspaper reports and terrorists' stories. On May 9, 1978, all the prisoners became extremely agitated: the CDP Chairman's corpse had been found in the boot of a Renault abandoned on Via Caetani, Rome. The hunt, for the murderers this time, went on, and the American tried hard to keep up with the latest developments. Why? To help the "prey" get away?

Stark's frequent guests - staff members of the U.S. Consulate in Florence whose cards were an "open sesame" - had an unquenchable thirst for the information Stark was collecting. "There are no secrets between us," John Shirley, an official spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Rome, explained. "We are in duty bound to help any fellow American who has found himself in prison."

This failed to convince Judge Claudio Nunziata, who instructed Graziano Gori, Bologna's security service chief, to investigate these strange contacts. A few days later, on June 4, Gori died in a car crash.

In August, the Italian press came up with an American-inspired sensation: the weapons Aldo Moro's Red Brigade

abductors used had been purchased from his best friends, the Palestine Liberation Organization! Was it the work of Ronald Stark the "Palestinian?" The PLO leaders denied this dirty allegation at once, but the canard was set afloat nevertheless. The assassination of the CDP Chairman began all over again.

On October 12, Nunziata decided to terminate Stark's adventures in the jungle of Italian terrorism. Stark was formally charged with organizing armed gangs. A search of his cell revealed an ingenious hiding place containing dozens of Red Brigade secret documents, letters from RB gunmen, and inter-prisoner communication codes. More interrogations followed, but the American wouldn't talk.

In January 1979 the Right responded to Moro's assassination by mounting an offensive all along the line, and especially in parliament. The Italian Communist Party was compelled to withdraw from the coalition the government leaned on. The cabinet tendered its resignation. Attempts to form a new government ended in failure. Early elections were scheduled for April, but were actually held in the summer instead, with Communists sustaining losses and the Atlanticists installing themselves in power and steering Italy towards a pro-American line.

On April 11, Judge Floridia of Bologna dropped all charges against Stark and released him on the grounds of his confession to being on an official CIA mission and belonging to the Lebanon-based Group 14 made up of terrorists and mafiosi whose brief it was to carry out clandestine operations.

Having reported to the police department as a matter of routine, the American announced that he was leaving for Bologna where he was due for interrogation - and then vanished into thin air.

A DIA agent in Via Fani

Stark's name cropped up again a year later, after the parliamentary commission of inquiry into the Moro murder case had got hold of two curious documents.

At 10.05 p.m. on May 15, 1979, a phone rang in the Florence office of the Ansa news agency. "I'd like to tell you something important," an ingratiating voice at the other end of the line drawled. "Search the public phone booth in Piazza Oberdan."

At 11 p.m., a similar suggestion was made to the night editor of the newspaper Nazione, only this time the anonymous caller mentioned the phone booth on Piazza Beccaria.

Reporters and policemen rushed to these addresses at once (the two squares adjoin). There was, indeed, a letter in each of the booths the caller had directed them to. Just twenty lines contained information which more than made up for the writer's numerous spelling mistakes. The letters gave sensational details of Aldo Moro's murder.

"Never mind my Italian," the message went. "And it's no use wondering why someone you don't know puts you wise to all these details now, of all times. I leave it to you to decide whether what I say is true or not. This is not a confession, just a rundown on the bare facts.

"The man who organized the slaughter in Via Fani is an Italian American and a close friend of Ronald Stark's who is under police protection. The Italian American, David by name, was born on March 18, 1954, in San Diego, California. Identification marks: eyes, blue; height, I m 77 cm; hair, chestnut; build, average. Starts moustache sometimes. An ex-Marine. Holds the rank of captain. Served with the Green Berets.

"Now he is a military adviser at the DIA (the Pentagon's Defence Intelligence Agency.- **L.M.**) in the F.R.G. David was the only top man (of the Amerian secret service residency in Italy? - **L.M.**) to have personally set up an ambush in Via Fani and abducted Aldo Moro with the help of his accomplices already known to the police. David did not take part in the execution of Aldo Moro, however. He lived in Rome until recently, but had a secret address in Milan."

Equipped with a warrant to arrest the young Italian American named David, policemen looked for him in Rome, Milan, Florence and Bologna, but without success. Then they tried to track down Ronald Stark, whom the informer had referred to as the Green Beret's associate, but to no avail, either.

In Italy it is difficult to keep secrets. It somehow came to newsmen's knowledge that after Stark had done his job, he was smuggled out of Italy by a U.S. warplane via the NATO base in Vicenza.

Ronald Stark and Captain David were not the only secret agents operating in the Italian terrorist underground which helps Washington keep Italy in the fetters of controlled freedom. A few more names can be given: Marcus Raskin, general director of the Institute for Policy Studies (a Rockefeller-financed private organization) who at one time "took a fancy" to Curcio, the Red Brigade chieftain; Eddie Grevillz, the man responsible for recruiting terrorists for Langley; Erick Fullbright, responsible for liaison between the CIA and extremist groups; René Polanski, Silvano Girotto, Corrado Simioni, Giovanni Senzani and, finally, Mario Moretti, the commander of the Via Fani operation and the driver of the car that took Aldo Moro to a "people's prison." It was established that the chief of the Roman Red Brigade had made a trip to the United States shortly before the abduction of the CDP chairman and exactly at the time when Interpol was looking for him throughout Europe. The latter circumstance did not prevent him from visiting America unimpeded.

According to the Repubblica, Moretti frequented the Hyperion institute of language studies in Paris, which reportedly maintains close links with numerous terrorist organizations ranging from the Red Brigade to the Spanish ETA and the French Action Directe, and is the CIA's No. I front organization in Western Europe.

Moretti, Curcio and other Red Brigade chiefs are now in jail. But the Brigade, now in its third generation, remains as active as ever. Especially so now, on the eve of early parliamentary elections, when many politicians are reverting to Aldo Moro's ideas of Italian and West European independence, détente, a settlement in the Middle East, and relations with the Communist Party. The CDP leader's political legacy has proved tenacious of life. It has struck deep root.

The Red Brigade, and terrorism in general, remain a trump card in Washington's geopolitical game versus the European "power centre." The strife between them is growing in the most diverse spheres, military included. Says Ugo Pecchioli, a member of the Italian Communist Party leadership, and deputy chairman of the parliamentary secret service control committee: "Let us stop and think about the situation in Europe. The issues of the Old World's autonomy, of its own security and, consequently, of its own armaments are now under heated discussion in the West. We are showing a tendency to weaken our dependence on the U.S. strategy and war machine. The conflicting interests are colossal, and it is small wonder that the conflict does not proceed without a blow or two being struck.

"Look at the latest crimes committed by the 'new' Red Brigade: the murder of Lando Conti, the former Mayor of Florence, who owned stocks in arms factories and of General Giorgieri, who was responsible for contracts between the Italian army and the (West European. - **L.M.**) munitions industry. Among those recently killed (by extreme-leftwing terrorists . - **L.M.**) there were other representatives of West European states engaged in similar activities. A mere coincidence?"

Many facts pertaining to the Moro murder case furnish a reply in the negative to this question.

Clouds over Fiji

NINA LEBEDEVA

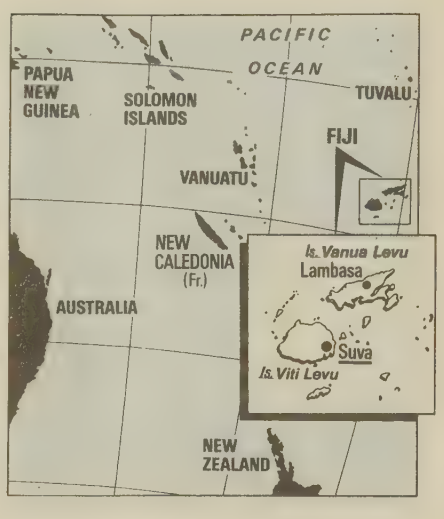
The world press has, probably, never paid so much attention to Fiji as in the second half of May this year. The reason is obvious: the coup in the young independent state where, it would have seemed, the norms of parliamentary democracy had put down sufficiently deep roots. It was the first military coup not only in Fiji, but in the whole vast area of the South Pacific, which had been proclaimed a nuclear-free zone under the Rarotonga Treaty.

...A tiny country, at the edge of the world. Australian, American and Japanese travel agencies inviting people to visit it describe it as the pearl of the south seas, a paradise on earth. Reading their advertising brochures, one has the impression that life in Fiji is idyllic. There are bright colours everywhere, and the climate is mild and healthy. In the coastal waters there are plenty of fish, crabs, shrimps and trepangs. All that is true. Nevertheless, such an idyllic picture is somewhat misleading. The history of the people of Fiji has not been an easy one, and day-to-day life brings its full share of anxieties and troubles. And especially now, after the coup.

Fiji lies almost 2,000 kilometres south of the equator in the southwest Pacific. The archipelago consists of 322 islands, of which only 150 are populated. Their total area is 18 thousand square kilometres, about half the size of Switzerland. The total population now exceeds 700,000.

When we arrived by air with a group of Soviet tourists in Suva, the capital of Fiji, we were struck by the variety of languages we heard in the streets around us. Current statistics on the national composition of the population of the islands are as follows: 49 per cent are of Indian origin, descendants of Indians brought in by the British colonialists to work in the sugar plantations, 47 per cent are ethnic Fijians (Melanesians), and the remaining few per cent are from China, neighbouring Pacific islands, and Europeans from Britain, Australia and New Zealand.

Fiji was a British colony for 96 years, from 1874. In order to keep the archipelago under their control for as long as possible, the colonialists made



the most use of the socio-economic, religious and cultural differences and contradictions between the ethnic communities in order to set them against one another.

Fijian independence was proclaimed on October 10, 1970. Under the Constitution that then came into force Fiji was proclaimed a sovereign state within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The head of state is the British Queen, and she is represented in Fiji by a Governor-General appointed from among the islands' inhabitants on the recommendation of the Fijian parliament. The bourgeois parliamentary system coexists with another special system of government applying only to ethnic Fijians. That system is headed by the Great Council of Fijian Chiefs. Although it is considered to be the keeper of national traditions, customs and ceremonies, in essence it is a fairly conservative body that sets out to safeguard the privileges of the tribal aristocrats.

Melanesians predominate in the state apparatus. The country's army, almost 2,000 strong, is made up almost entirely of them. About half the aboriginal population is engaged in the traditional natural economy. And although under the law, 85 per cent of the land belongs to them, as a rule they do not work it themselves, but lease it out to farmers of Indian origin. More than half the Indian community are engaged in growing sugar cane and the production of sugar. The rest are in trade, the processing industry and construction. They own most of the buses and other transport facilities, cinemas, cafés, and restaurants. There are also more Indians than ethnic Fijians among doctors and college teachers.

This structure of the population is to a certain extent reflected in the country's party and political system. The Alliance Party represents the interests of the local Fijian elite, especially the tribal chiefs, as well as those, to some degree, of rich Indians and people of mixed race. It was the Alliance Party that ruled the country up to April 1987, when it lost the general election. Victory was won by a coalition of two parties: Labour - set up two years ago on a non-racial basis - and the National Federation Party, which defends, first and foremost, the interests of the Indian farmers, but also advocates the consolidation of the different ethnic groups.

In the 16 years of its independence, the country has made indisputable progress in different spheres of life. The gross national product has increased, and the output of sugar has gone up by almost 50 per cent. Tourism is developing and has become a major source of national income, second only to the sugar industry. Progress has also been made in education and the health service. But the rate of inflation remains high, and unemployment is still a serious problem.

There have also been some shifts in the extremely delicate issue of smoothing over the differences between the different ethnic groups. When we met representatives of Fijian trade unions, they told us that the increasing involvement of all groups of the population in production and the service industry had opened up new channels and opportunities for inter-ethnic communion and understanding. Mixed marriages, rare in the past, were now much more common. Even mixed trade unions had been formed, defending professional class interests rather than those of separate ethnic groups.

Fiji's role in various spheres of activity in the south seas, if not in the world arena, has increased perceptibly. Suva is the headquarters of the South Pacific Forum, which unites 13 independent nations and self-governing territories in Oceania, and the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation. Fiji plays an active part in developing regional cooperation.

When the Rarotonga Treaty proclaiming the south Pacific a nuclear-free

zone was instituted, Fiji was one of the first states to ratify it. However, the Alliance Party government headed by tribal chieftain Kamisese Mara did not ban American ships with nuclear weapons on board from entering Fijian ports.

At the general elections that ended on April 12 the Alliance Party was opposed by the recently formed multiracial coalition of the Labour and the National Federation parties headed by the Labour leader Dr Timoci Bavadru, a Fijian. The coalition's slogans in the elections called for an active anti-nuclear policy in the Pacific and the nationalization of a number of privately-owned enterprises.

The coalition won the elections gaining 28 of the 52 seats in the Lower House. Dr Bavadru formed a cabinet with Fijians of Indian descent predominating. In his first public speech the new prime minister stressed that his government's foreign policy would be based on the principles of non-alignment. He reaffirmed that Fiji wanted to see the Pacific a nuclear-free zone and announced his intention of banning ships carrying nuclear weapons or powered by nuclear energy from the country's ports, "on the New Zealand pattern." Following this statement, the New York Times correspondent reported with concern from Suva that Fiji's policy on naval vessels and relations with the United States would probably carry a lot of weight in the region as a whole.

Only a month after the formation of the new government, on May 14, a unit of soldiers burst into the parliament building. They were led by Lieutenant-Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka, the third highest ranking officer in the Fijian army. In a loud voice he ordered everybody to remain seated. "Do not move. This is a coup. Mr Prime Minister, please lead your members to the exit." All 28 MPs from the government coalition led by Dr Bavadru were arrested and taken away in army vehicles.

Lieutenant-Colonel Rabuka tried to set up his own government, which would have included several ministers from the Alliance government that had lost the elections, including Kamisese Mara. The Great Council of Fijian Chiefs supported the putschists. However, the Governor-General, Penaia Ganilau, refused to recognize the rebel government. At the same time, however, he did not restore the legally elected government of Dr Bavadru to power. After a few days all the ministers were released from detention. The Governor-General took over the running of the nation's affairs, but at the same time acceded to the rebels' demands and dissolved the parliament elected only a month earlier. He announced that new elections would be held. He also gave his consent to the revision of the Constitution. The new draft, in keeping with the rebels' demands, should guarantee that power remain in the hands of the ethnic Fijian community and not allow Indians to have a majority in parliament (nor, by the same token, in the government).

The Council of Advisers was set up, to function as the nation's government until new elections were held. It consists of 14 ethnic Fijians, 3 Indians and 1 European. Dr Bavadru and his deputy were also invited to sit on the Council. He turned down the offer, saying that representatives of the Alliance Party led by Kamisese Mara dominated the Council although he had lost the general election. Lieutenant-Colonel Rabuka also has a place on the Council and has been made the commander of the security forces, which puts him at the head of both all the armed forces and the police. He also heads the Constitutional Review Committee.

In the past few days there have been repeated inter-communal clashes in Suva and other towns, with young Melanesians attacking people of Indian descent. Many have been injured. Supporters of the overthrown prime minister have launched a civil disobedience campaign: shops have remained shut, transport has stopped, schools are being boycotted, and strikes organized at factories. Workers are refusing to bring in the sugar cane crop.

In other words, the situation in Fiji remains extremely tense.

The Fijian coup has been strongly condemned in many Asian and Pacific countries. The Indonesian paper Merdeka described it as a bad precedent for the South Pacific region. It was based, the paper adds, on racism, discrimination and egoism.

But is that the whole story? Many foreign papers and magazines that followed events in the region carefully point to the probability of involvement on the part of the American CIA. Much the same was reported by an influential Australian member of parliament, who referred to information available to the Australian Prime Minister. The papers recall that during the April elections an American representative at the U.N., Retired General Vernon A. Walters, former deputy director of the CIA, visited Fiji. He was followed by several other American agents. Nor is there any need to draw attention to the fact that Washington was irritated by the foreign policy course proclaimed by Dr Bavadru's government - non-alignment, and a ban on ships carrying nuclear weapons.

Participants in a mass meeting of solidarity with Fiji held on May 25 in the New Zealand capital stated bluntly that the United States was behind the coup, and that it had taken decisive steps.

The New Zealand paper Dominion reported on May 26 that former Fijian Prime Minister Kamisese Maru had informed the Great Council that American Secretary of State George Shultz had promised the new regime food aid. It could be followed by aid of a different kind.

The clouds over Fiji are darkening....

Inhabitants of Suva protesting against the military coup and the overthrow of Fiji's democratically elected government.

AP-TASS photo

Our Pushkin

June 6 is the great poet's birthday

In the early thirties an authority on Pushkin, the outstanding Soviet writer Yuri Tynyanov, had the idea of writing a novel to be called "The Hannibals" about the African ancestors of the great Russian poet (only the preface to the novel has survived). Why did he choose to write about them? The reason lay not only in Pushkin's own interest in his ancestry, but also in the increased currency fascist racial theories were gaining at the time, which gave the story of the Hannibals additional anti-fascist, anti-racist significance.

The 9th International congress on Ethiopian studies has recently been held in Moscow. At one session a dispute about the origin of Pushkin's great-grandfather flared up. Ethiopian scholars had no doubts about the "Abyssinian" version, but there were also opinions that he might have been of Sudanese or even Kenyan extraction. It was perhaps in much the same way that the cities of Ancient Greece claimed Homer.

Not even Pushkin himself had documentary proof of the "Abyssinian" origin of his great-grandfather, and no such evidence has been discovered to this day. But the attempt to understand the exotic land of his forefathers and get closer to it was succinctly expressed in Pushkin's formula "my Africa."

"My Africa gave birth to him," ran a rough draft of a line in the lyric poem "Antiar."

In the years of his exile in the South, Pushkin thought of escaping, of finding under ...my glowing Afric sky,

A sunlit shore beside a sea,

And there for doleful Russia sigh.

Pushkin's words "my Africa" acquired wings. Lermontov was the first to respond to them with a paraphrase: In the highlands of my Scotland...

Vladimir Nabokov invoked them a century later when he wrote:

And in the highlands of my America

to pine for northern Russia...

At the turn of the century, another Russian poet, Nikolai Gumilev, earned the right to say "my Africa." He made three journeys deep into Africa, travelling over the Ethiopian highlands and forests.

You are stunned with howls and tramping,

You are shrouded in smoke and flames,

'Tis of you, my Africa,

that seraphs

Whisper in the skies.

"My Africa" was the title of Boris Kornilov's poem about the African Wielan, a commander in the Red Army, and a hero of the Russian civil war.

Pushkin said "my Africa" in much the same way as we now say "our Pushkin." "My Pushkin" was the title of studies by Valery Bryusov and Marina Tsvetayeva. This drew ironic comment from some quarters to the effect that such titles were the manifestation of a proprietary spirit. But the words "my Pushkin" mean simply a deeply personal attitude to Pushkin, one of love. (And they also imply the wish to take him for ever from the one who was, perhaps, the first to say "my Pushkin" - Nicholas I, who, after the audience in Chudov Palace in the Moscow Kremlin on September 8, 1826, said: "Well, now you are no longer the Pushkin you used to be. You are my Pushkin!")

The images of his black ancestor, general Hannibal, and his remote ancestral land are present in many of Pushkin's verses, articles and autobiographical notes. In a letter to Pyotr Vyazemsky, Pushkin once admitted: "I yearn for far-off lands. Maybe their meridional air will envigorate my soul." It is debatable what lands the poet meant when he wrote this, but there is no doubt that Africa was clearly imprinted in his imagination. "Byron used to say that he would never have dared describe a country he had not seen with his own eyes," Pushkin observed.

Commenting on the lines, "A southern land, a land enchanted, my heart with longing filled, I see before me lie," Valery Bryusov noted that this description suits Spain, India or Africa equally well.

A sketch of an Egyptian pyramid has recently come to light in the archives of the Russian Egyptologist and diplomat Ivan Gulyanov. It is accompanied by a note in French written by Gulyanov in 1831: "Penned by the poet Alexander Pushkin during a talk I had with him this morning about my work in general and hieroglyphs in particular." There is a mention of that meeting in "Stories About Pushkin" recorded by Pyotr Bartenev: "Pushkin was a man of versatile knowledge and formidable erudition. The prominent Egyptologist Gulyanov, meeting him at Nashchokin's, was amazed by his profound knowledge even of such a subject as linguistics. The poet impressed Gulyanov with his clever ideas and his apt remarks (testified by Pavel and Vera Nashchokins).

"For how many years was travelling my most pleasant dream," Pushkin might have said in the words of Karamzin. "The frontier had the attraction of a mystery to me," he wrote in his "Journey to Erzerum." "From a very early age, travel was a cherished dream. Later for a long time I led the life of a nomad, roaming from place to place, now in the South, now in the North, but never have I broken beyond the confines of vast Russia."

Pushkin never left Russia. The tsarist government prohibited the poet from going beyond the limits of the empire, to "far-off lands." He was refused permission to travel to Europe, nor was he allowed to go on a mission to the Orient, to China. The gist of Count Benkendorf's brief instructions, expressed with mock politeness, was invariably "is not deemed expedient." But Pushkin's fame travelled far if he did not: the first translations of his verse appeared in his lifetime in France and Italy. Pushkin's words, "And honour shall I have, so long the glorious fire Of poesy flames on one single scutcheon," proved to be prophetic. Pushkin's verse has been translated into Japanese, Arabic, Hungarian, Chinese....Interest in Pushkin is not mere curiosity. Foreign readers cannot but be attracted by what Fyodor Dostoyevsky called his universal sympathy.

Among the problems with which Pushkin was concerned are many that disturb thinkers and politicians today. The papers that were sealed by gendarmes in Pushkin's study after his death included one in his autograph in French. No more than a draft, it had been given the provisional title "Eternal peace." The poet tries to visualize a new age. "People cannot but realize with the passage of time the ridiculous cruelty of war, just as they have realized the essence of serfdom, of the tsar's power and so on. They will see that we are destined to eat, drink, and be free." In verses dedicated to the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz, Pushkin expresses his dream of a time when the nations will abandon strife and live as one family.

Pushkin's dreams and behests are dear to the present generation. Vladimir Odoyevsky once said of him that he can illuminate vast knowledge with his prophetic vision.

Pushkin Year, so named by the public in connection with the 150th anniversary of the poet's death, is at its height. Pushkin jubilees have long-standing traditions. For instance, in 1899 in the journal "The World

Portrait by Rudolf Khachatryan.

of Art" Dmitry Merezhkovsky wrote this of the poet's birth centenary observed in Russia: "Academicians awaken from slumber, a certain ministry orders 40,000 plaster-of-Paris busts of Pushkin, somebody invents a game of cards or lotto named 'Pushkin's death,' Pushkin cycling races are planned, Pushkin chocolate is to be produced, the birth of Pushkin is staged in the Suvorinski Theatre amid clouds, cupids, storms and lightnings...."

Times certainly change, but nowadays, too, alongside the manifestations of the greatest love of the people for the poet (the number of subscriptions to the unlimited three-volume edition of Pushkin's works exceeded 10 million) there are also signs of the "Pushkin boom" at the level of mass culture.

The Stuttgart Theatre (F.R.G.) has brought the ballet "Eugene Onegin" to the Soviet Union. And in the ballet "Pushkin" (music by Andrei Petrov) which ran in Leningrad and Moscow, not a character from his works, but the poet himself dances a pas de deux with his Muse against the background of the same clouds, cupids, storms and lightnings. Postage stamps of distant Madagascar featuring a miniature of Pushkin are on sale in "Soyuzpechat" kiosks, and new granite monuments to Pushkin have already been erected in Spain, Finland and Mauritius.

Enterprising Western vintners are selling "Count Pushkin" vodka. Pushkin devotees at home are trying to emulate them. For example, the newspaper Moskovsky Komsomolets recently printed a selection of recipes in its "Bon appetit!" section. There is one for a piquant mushroom salad. It reads: "Boil filleted cod. Crumble and mix with shredded salted mushrooms and medium-sized caps of pickled mushrooms when cool. Season with a mixture of mayonnaise and mustard." And what is this delicacy called? Alas, "the Bronze Horseman"!

...Many things have come to light in Pushkin Year: the enduring power and magic of Pushkin's verse and personality and, regrettably, the fact that Pushkin studies are no longer in the vanguard of the study of literature in the U.S.S.R. The generations of scholars who had a rich and detailed knowledge of everything relating to the poet's biography and work have passed away, and young literary critics are slow to develop their gifts. Our scholars and publishers are indebted to Pushkin, and to his readers; work on a complete academic edition of his writings has just been started, a Pushkin encyclopaedia has yet to be embarked upon, and the chronicle of Pushkin's life and work is still uncompleted.

And people avidly read Pushkin's poetry and books about him. They still mourn his tragic death and hate his assassin.

The 21st Pushkin poetry festival is held all over the Soviet Union in the first week of June. It is dedicated to the immortality of his verse.

"There is nothing more interesting than following the workings of a great mind," Pushkin wrote in his novel about Peter the Great's moor. At the time of the Pushkin jubilee we follow the poet's thoughts and characters.

Pushkin's verse is being recited in picturesque avenues near Leningrad, in Mikhailovskoe park, in Kamenka in the Ukraine, on the paths of Boldino park, in those parts of Siberia associated with the Decembrists and at the famous monument to Pushkin in Moscow. Pushkin Year continues.

Alexei BUKALOV

Experiment on the podium

The European gymnastics championship in Moscow's Olimpiisky indoor stadium can be described as something of an experiment in that it was the first time that men and women had competed simultaneously. The novelty pleased Moscow fans as the championship was thrilling to watch and emotionally highly charged. The rapidly changing impressions left no room for the monotony that is not often entirely absent when dozens of gymnasts compete (athletes from 28 countries came to Moscow).

Daniela Silivas from Romania and the Soviet gymnast Valery Lyukin were the all-around champions. They not only demonstrated extremely difficult routines but performed them with ease, giving faultless displays unmarred by the exertion that often robs gymnastics of its artistry. Daniela and Valery also won in individual events. Silivas surrendered to our Elena Shushunova only one gold medal in the vaults, while Valery shared two golds (in the vaults and the rings) with twice world champion Yuri Korolyov and Valentin Mogilny.

Some two hundred foreign journalists converged on Moscow for a closer look at those who will be competing in the next Olympics. Since roughly the same number of Soviet correspondents were also accredited to the press centre, it can be said that a record of sorts was set as never before have journalists shown such interest in gymnastics.

What did the championship reveal? What are its results? What tendencies in gymnastics did it show?

During the championship I had the opportunity to meet many famous gymnasts and coaches, including the President of the European Gymnastics Union, Pierre Chabloz. They were unanimous: gymnastics, both men's and ladies', is continuing to develop, and original new routines are being invented to the delight of both spectators and specialists. And this process is unlikely to be arrested in the foreseeable future.

Like many other gymnastic fans I have long been worried by the situation in ladies' gymnastics. I well remember Larisa Latynina's day, when ladies' gymnastics really were ladies' gymnastics and mature women competed on the podium, each with her distinctive style. A comparison with the present situation gives it at least an emotional edge. Larissa Latynina (I hope fans remember her brilliant all-around victories at two world championships and in the Olympics in Melbourne and Rome) had this to say:

"There were fewer small girls at the Moscow championship than at previous ones. Gymnastics has been getting younger in terms of the participants' ages for many years and this process has clearly reached its limit. A reverse trend is now being observed. Of course, it is easier for small, light girls to do complicated routines, especially in the asymmetrical bars event. And it is not surprising that many of them pioneered many of these routines. But now even taller girls have mastered the most complex combinations and vaults, while their 'adult plasticity' imparts a special charm to their peformance."

I think Latynina had good reason to mention the term plasticity. It is especially important in the floor exercises, which I would describe as the high point of ladies' gymnastics and the greatest attraction at competitions. The Moscow championship was no exception. But Soviet fans were also in for some disappointments. Soviet gymnasts, their coaches and choreographers have always dictated trends in floor exercises. But in Moscow the winner was the Romanian Silivas and second place went to her compatriot Camelia Voinea, while Alevtina Pryakhina, a newcomer to the Soviet team from Moscow, came only third.

True, we can find excuses in the setback suffered by the all-around ladies' world champion Elena Shushunova, who was not at her best, and the absence of Oksana Omelyanchik, who is particularly good at floor exercises. But we must honestly admit that in the search for new forms our coaches and choreographers sometimes forget the achievements of their predecessors and turn these exercises into mere sequences of acrobatic leaps. Today Shushunova's and Pryakhina's performances in the floor exercises lack subtle plasticity, only remotely resembling dance, and for this reason are obviously inferior to those of their rivals.

On the other hand, today men are creating routines that are more impressive and original than those performed by the women. In fact Valery Lyukin, the champion, captivated everybody with the amazing ease with which he performed the most difficult jumps (among them a unique triple somersault) and the beauty and logic with which the most complex elements in his routines were arranged. I believe that Lyukin and his coach Eduard Yarov are together opening a new stage in the development of men's gymnastics, characterized by an organic fusion of extremely complicated routines and artistic plasticity.

Valery Lyukin is a product of the Alma Ata school of gymnastics. He is a student at the Institute of Physical Culture. Though only 20, he has already become all-around champion of the U.S.S.R. and won a gold medal in the vaults at the Good Will Games. Valery loves downhill skiing, is a superb dancer and a skateboard virtuoso. But the main thing is that he is co-author of all his routines and new numbers. He and his coach invent them together.

Indeed, only an athlete with the most original "stage image" can leave his trace in world gymnastics.

If we take the Soviet men's team as a whole I have no doubt that its image is unique and extremely attractive. For besides Lyukin it includes Yuri Korolyov from Vladimir and Valentin Mogilny from Leninsk-Kuznetsk. The latter two have already won dozens of awards at world and European championships and yet are still sufficiently young to master new routines.

Yuri Korolyov has twice captured the world all-around title (something that happens very rarely nowadays) and reminds me somewhat of the "iron Shakhlin," the winner of Olympic gold medals and world titles in the 1950s and 1960s. At decisive moments Korolyov is as hard as rock. True, this time the gold medal eluded him, but there is an explanation: he competed in the first group, which did not include the best contestants, and judges traditionally mark competitors in this group fractionally lower.

As for Valentin Mogilny, his problems are more serious. During the three-day championship his performances in various exercises were marred by a number of errors which prevented him from coming higher than fifth in the all-around assessment.

Tough competitions lie ahead and our gymnasts must prepare themselves for them in order to sustain the high reputation it has taken Soviet gymnastics decades to earn.

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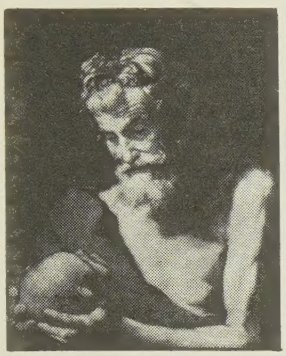
MASTERPIECES FROM LILLE

An exhibition of West European art from the museums of Lille were held recently in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow.

Nineteen magnificent canvasses by Tintoretto, El Greco, Ribera, Snyders, Goya, Géricault, Delacroix, Millet, Courbet, Monet, Renoir, Raphael, Wateau, Boucher.... The cream of the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts and other Lille art galleries.

Lille is a leading art centre of France. The fine arts museum itself was founded in 1809 and the history of its collection dates farther back. It has been constantly replenished through the efforts of the museum staff and the inhabitants of Lille. For example, Raphael's drawings were bequeathed to his native city by the artist Jean-Batist Vicart. The painting by Vincent Van Gogh was presented to the museum by the artist's friend Dr Gachet. Van Gogh painted it in Lille while visting with Gachet.

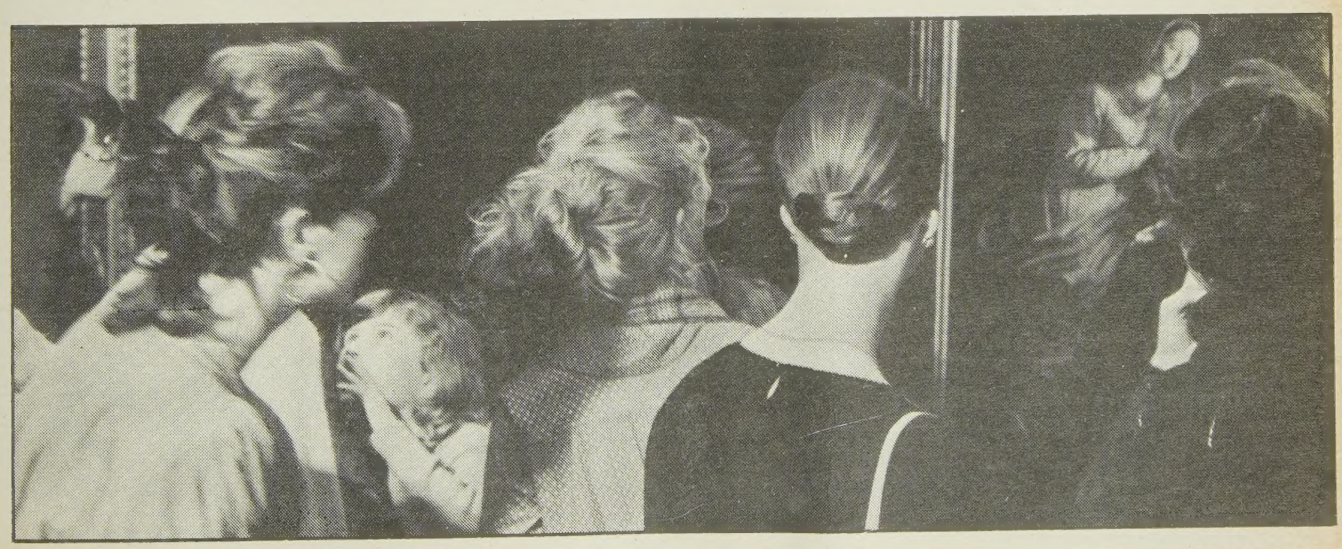


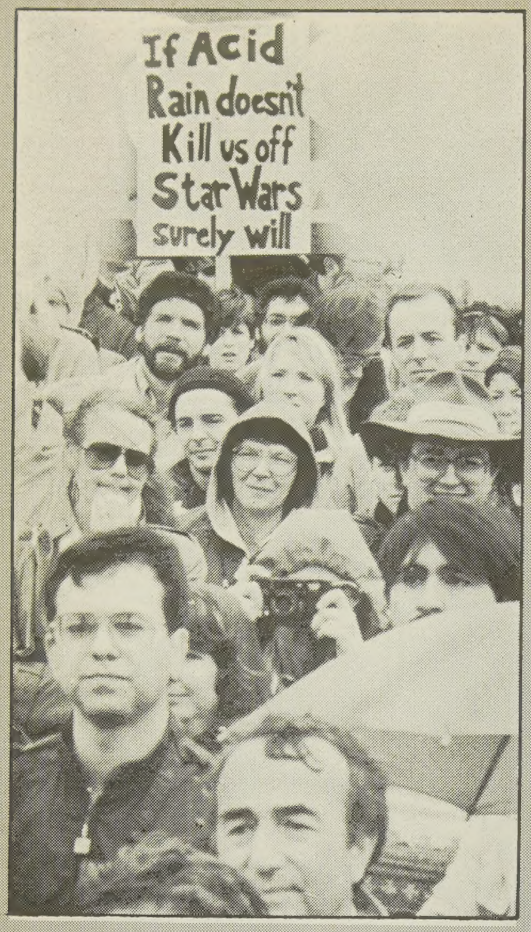
The exchange of art exhibitions between the U.S.S.R. and France is a long-standing tradition. However this was the first time Lille brought its masterpieces here.

Francisco de Goya.
Old Age.

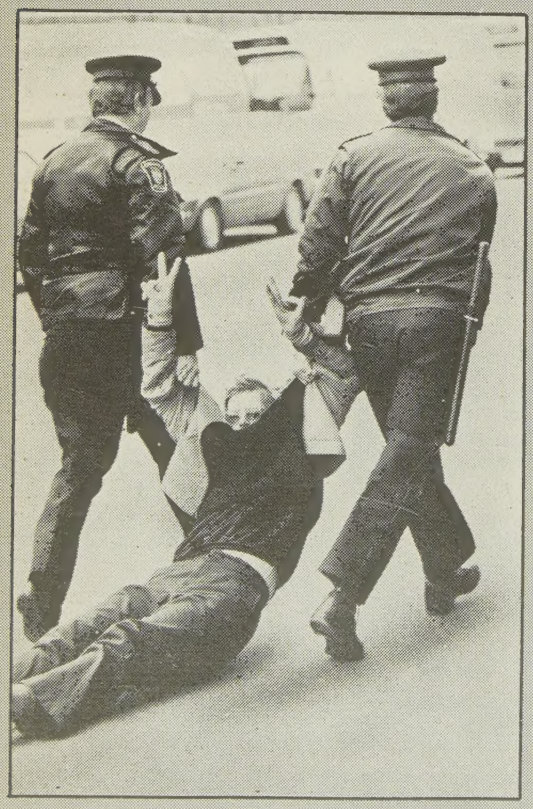
Giuseppe de Ribera.
St. Jerome.

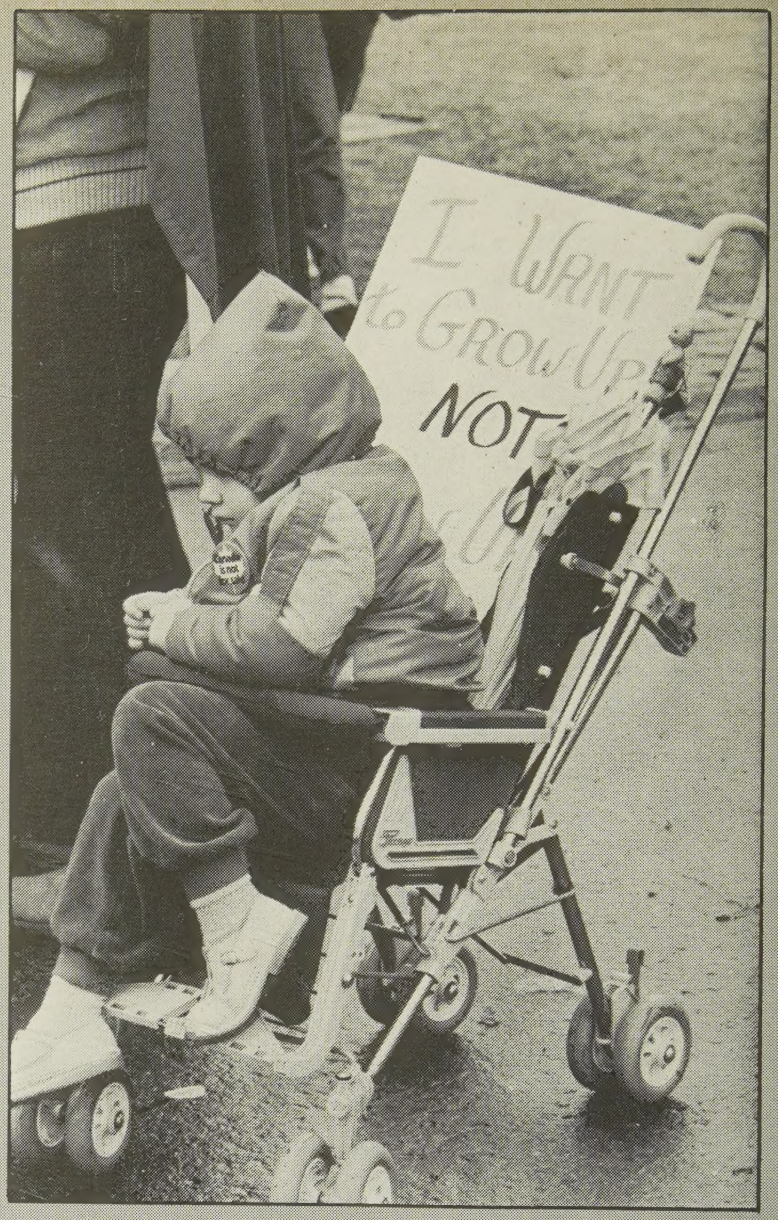
Frans Snyders.
A Dog in the Kitchen.





"If acid rain doesn't kill us off, star wars surely will."
A protester against U.S.-Canadian military cooperation being arrested.





"We want to grow up—not blow up!"

Photos taken during U.S. President Reagan's visit to Canada in April 1987

Koozma Y. Tarasoff (Canada)

MAN AND MANKIND

INTERNATIONAL PHOTO CONTEST

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